

**A
SHORT HISTORY
OF
THE MARHATTAS.**

**(From the early times to the death
of Shivaji).**

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PREFACE.

A word of explanation is necessary regarding the publication of this little volume. The main object of writing it is to present in simple language a brief narrative of the rise of the Mahratta people. In India there were races, the story of whose rise fills the hearts of the readers with pride and pleasure. The Mahrattas were such a race and as long as there will remain any History of India the anecdotes of the Mahratta warriors will be read with admiration. It was the ambition of the writer to trace the history of this sturdy race down to the annexation of their country by the British. But the pressure of the College duties left him little leisure to bring the book to its natural end, and as it was believed that the book so far as it was written up to the death of Shivaji might be of help to the students preparing for the B. A. examination of the Punjab University, it was thought advisable to bring it out in the present form with a view to add to it afterwards when time would permit.

The writer does not claim any originality in the book. He acknowledges his indebtedness to the various writers on the history of the Mahrattas. The standard works by Dr. Bhandarkar, Grant Duff, Ranade, and Messrs. Kincaid and Parasani have been of great help to him.

THE RETREAT.
Lahore,
January 24, 1919.

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CONTENTS.

| | Pages. |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| CHAPTER I... .. | 1-6 |
| Introduction—the country. | |
| CHAPTER II | 8-24 |
| Early History of the Deccan - the Epic Period —the Maurya Period—the Andhras—the Dark Age—the Early Chalukyas—the Rashtrakutas —the Later Chalukyas—the Yadavas. | |
| CHAPTER III | 25-42 |
| Maharashtra under Muhammadan Rule— The Afghan conquest—Devagiri the Capital of India—the Bahmani Kingdom—Mahratta Ins- titutions—Main features of the Bahmani Adminis- tration—Gawan's Reforms—Dismemberment of the Empire. | |
| CHAPTER IV. The Renaissance ... | 43-54 |
| The Five States—Maharashtra in 1573— Internal Administration in the period—the condition of the Mahrattas—Principal Mahratta Families—the Ahmadnagar Kingdom—Reli- gious Revival. | |
| CHAPTER V. The Moghul advance in the Deccan | 25-61 |
| Malik Amber—Bijapur and Ahmadnagar | |
| CHAPTER VI. Early life of Shivaji— | 62-67 |
| CHAPTER VII. Rebuilding a Mahratta State - | 68-98 |
| Torna and other hillforts—Adventures in the Konkan—Captivity of Shahjee—Jaoli invest- | |

ed—Relations with the Moghuls—Discomfiture at Janjira—Afzul Kuu's Mission—Winter Campaign of 1859-60—Ali Adil Shah's Supreme Effort—vhaSji's Campaigns in the Konkan—Fall of Baji Ghorpade of Mudhol—Reduction of the Savants—Peace with Bijapur.

CHAPTER VIII. The Moghul Invansion ...99—118

Shaista Khan's expedition—Defence of Chakan—Disaster to Shaista Khan—Sack of Surat—Death of Shahjee—Convention of Purandhar Shivaji at the Imperial Court—Shivaji's Escape—Retreat of the Moghuls.

CHAPTER IX. THE RESTORATION 119—136

Reconquest of Sinhgad—The Second Sack of Surat—Further Incursion into the Moghul Territory—the Battle of Salheir—The European Factories—Loss of Danda Rajapuri—Expedition against Bijapur—The Coronation.

CHAPTER X ...137—144

The Campaign in the South—Operations in the Konkan—the affairs in Bijapur—Alliance with Golconda—The Tanjore expedition.

CHAPTER XI. The Last years of Shivaji ...145—164

Alliance with Bijapnr—The fall of Bhupalgad—Further troubles in Bijapnr—Naval engagement—Death of Shivaji—Shivaji's system of Government—The Chauth and Sardeshmurkhi—an estimate of his greatness.

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CHAPTER I.
INTRODUCTION.



On the decline of the Moghul Power in India there arose a number of small states. The old officers of the Delhi emperors became practically independent in Oudh, Hyderabad and Bengal paying nominal allegiance to the throne. The Rajput princes ignored the suzerainty of Delhi. But in the Deccan flourished the Mahratta confederacy, the foundation of which was laid by Shivaji in the reign of Aurangzeb, and which was ultimately broken up by the British and most of which states forming the confederacy were added to the British Empire in the nineteenth century. The Mahrattas ceased to be a political power since the conquest of Deogir by Ala-ud-din in 1313 A. D. In the middle of the 17th century Shivaji made them a nation and gave them an ideal to strive for and a history to make. The rise of the Mahrattas would not have been possible if Shivaji alone had tried to effect it. "It was the upheaval of the whole population," says Ranade, "strongly bound together by the common affinities of language, race, religion and literature, and seeking

further solidarity by a common independent political existence. This was the first experiment of the kind attempted in India after the disastrous period of foreign Mussalman invasion."

The Mahrattas found in Shivaji a leader fit to fulfil the ambitions of the race. They supported him in his national projects and started the foundation of the structure on the strong fortresses of the Western Ghats. Their power extended over the whole of the Deccan, and in the dark days of the Delhi Empire it reached the banks of the Sutlej on the north and of the Ganges on the east. At one time the Mahratta chiefs became the custodians of the Moghul prestige. It is therefore a most fascinating study for the student of Indian history to trace the rise and fall of such a power.

The word Mahratta or Maharatttha is derived from Sanskrit Maharashtra, which again is derived from Rashtra or Ratta by the addition of the prefix Maha. Rastikas are mentioned in the Asoka inscriptions but it is doubtful whether the name Maharashtra or Maharatttha had come into use in the time of Asoka. The words Maharathi and Maharathini occur in some inscriptions in the cave temples at Bhaja, Bedsa and Karli, which are referred to the second century after Christ. (R. G. Bhandarkar). It is therefore, asserted, that the name Mahratttha or Maharashtra came into use in the early centuries of the Christian era.

A poem in the Mahrathi dialect entitled *Setubandha* is attributed to Kalidasa who lived either in the fifth century or in the first half of the sixth century. By the time of Kalidasa the dialect was sufficiently developed, and must have been cultivated two or three centuries earlier. Mahrathi is one of the old Prakrits, and one of the principal provincial languages which has made sufficient progress. The Mahrathi literature is very rich, and very important on account of its great antiquity.

The Country—The country of the people speaking Mahrathi language is called Maharashtra. People sometimes identify Maharashtra with Deccan, in its narrowest sense, that is the land watered by the upper Godaveri and lying between that river and the Krishna. In the strictest sense therefore Maharashtra includes the Konkan which lies between the Western Ghats and the seas. The Mahrattas have, however, extended beyond the original boundaries and Grant Duff in his "History of the Mahrattas" defines Maharashtra as the space which is bounded on the north by the Satpoora mountains, and extends from Naundole on the west, along those mountains, to the Weinegunga, east of Nagpur. The western bank of that river forms a part of the eastern boundary until it falls into the Warda. From the junction of these rivers it may be traced up the east bank of the Warda to

Manikdroog, and thence westward to Mahoor. From this last place a waving line may be extended to Goa, whilst on the west it is bounded by the ocean. The whole tract covers an area of 102,000 square miles. According to the last census the Mahrathi speaking population of India is about 20 millions and the population of Maharashtra is about 30 millions.

The Konkan is a rugged country lying between the Ghats and the sea extending along the coast from Sewdasheogarh to the Tapti. The country is interspersed with mountains 3000 to 4000 feet high. The breadth of the country from the sea to the summit of the Sahyadri range varies from 25 to 50 miles. The extensive table-land on the top is called the Konkan-Ghat-Mahta and the lower regions are called the Thul Konkan. The Konkan-Ghat Mahta is 20 to 25 miles broad. The table-land is divided into three parts *viz.*, the Mawals, the Khoras, and the Mooras.

The hills have made the country very strong from a military point of view. The summits are crowned with strong basaltic rocks, and are, therefore, capable of being formed into fortresses without great difficulty. The Ghat-Mahta has sloped down towards the east. There are four important ranges of hills running from west to east *viz.*, the Satpoora range which is the northern boundary of Maharashtra; the Chandore range from Rhoura to Berar; the Ahmednagar hills

from Joonere to Bheer and the Mahdeo to the north of Satara. There is also a range to the south of Poona. The climate of the country is healthy but in fertility it is inferior to some parts of India.

The principal rivers of Maharashtra are the Narmada, the Tapti, the Godaveri, the Bhima, and the Krishna with their tributaries. The banks of the Godaveri, the Bhima and its tributaries the Neera and the Maun are celebrated for the breed of horses. The rugged surface of the country influenced the character of the people to a great extent.

The country is mainly divided into three parts *viz.*, the long strip of land behind the Sahyadris known as the Konkan, the mountainous region in the centre known as the Mawal, and the wide plains to the east of the hills called the Desh. The fertility of the country varies according to the wide variety of climate and other circumstances. There is plenty of rainfall in the Konkan, whereas the plains in the east are almost dry, receiving not more than 20 inches of rain during the year.

In describing the character of the people a modern writer says : " The race that inhabits it varies, just as Frenchmen of different provinces vary. But it has distinct characteristics, which differentiate it from other Indian races. The people of Maharashtra as a rule lack the regular features of Northern Indian. Their

temper, too, are usually less under control than those of the dwellers in the Gangetic plain. But their courage is at best as high as that of any other Indian nation, while their exquisitely keen sense of humour, the lofty intelligence of their educated classes, their blunt speech and frank bearing rarely fail to win the love and admiration of those Englishmen whose lot it is to serve among them the Indian Government." (C. A. Kincaid). The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang gave a vivid description of the people thirteen hundred years back. Thus wrote he: "Their manners are simple and honest. They are tall, haughty and supercilious in character. Whoever does them a service may count on their gratitude, but he that offends them will not escape their revenge. If any one insults them, they will risk their lives to wipe out the affront. If one apply to them in difficulty, they will forget to care for themselves in order to flee to his assistance. When they have an injury to avenge, they never fail to give warning to their enemy, after which each dons his cuirass and grasps his spear in his hand. In battle they pursue the fugitives, but do not slay those who give themselves up. When a general has lost a battle, instead of punishing him corporally, they make him wear women's clothes, and by that force him to sacrifice his own life." In the later history of the people most of these characteristics were greatly in evidence;

and their rise was due to this nobility of character and intolerance for wrong. The Mahrattas possess the constructive genius in a greater degree than any other race in India, and their modern institutions make one believe that such a race could not but have a grand though tragic history.

CHAPTER II.

Early History of the Deccan.



There is no connected history of the Deccan until we come to its conquest by Ala-ud-din Khalji in 1313. The labours of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and a few other scholars have brought to light a few fragments from ancient inscriptions and literature. But as yet the main history is still very obscure. Dr. Bhandarkar in his "Early History of the Deccan" describes only the landmarks in the history of the various dynasties which ruled over the country, and there is very little to form a correct idea of the evolution of the grand nation which figured so prominently in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of the Christian era in India.

The early inhabitants of India are said to have been of the Dravidian stock. When the Aryans came and settled in Northern India the country south of the Vindhyas were inhabited by the Dravidians. The legendary march of Rishi Agastya is considered to be the first attempt made by the Aryans to go into the south. But the thick forests between the Vindhyas and the sea and the great central hills served as a strong barrier against such projects. It is said that in the 7th century B. C., the Aryans spread across the Vindhya

but towards the further south the wave of migration gradually lost its strength.

The Epic Period.—The Ramayana gives a good description of the forest of Dandaka but beyond that there is very little to give us an idea of the country. So it is believed that at the time of the Ramayana the Aryans had not gone very far from the Vindhya. In the Mahabharata we find Sahadeva, the youngest brother of King Yudhishthira, subduing the Pandyas, Keralas, and Andhras. It therefore appears that at the time when the Mahabharata was written the Aryans had explored the southern peninsula. The Maharashtra was then known as Dandakaranya, by which name the Brahmanas refer to the country in their *Mantras* even now. Although it lies close to Aryavarta it was conquered last of all, and it became the most Aryanised part of the south. The old races were absorbed in the race of the conquerors, and the language of the country became richly blended with Sanskrit, the language of the Aryans. Professor Rawlinson writes: "The inhabitants of the Dekhan appear to belong mainly to a Scytho-Dravidian stock, with a considerable Aryan element in the higher castes. They speak a dialect which is Aryan by descent, with an intermixture of a few aboriginal roots and forms."

The Maurya Period—Chandra Gupta Maurya (320 B. C.) who had his capital at Pataliputra, ruled over Northern India as far as Kathiawad. His grandson, Asoka, who reigned from 263 to 229 B. C. extended his sway from Kalinga in the east to Kathiawad in the west. In his fifth edict the Rastikas, Petinikas, and Aparantas are mentioned as provinces where he sent religious preachers. It is not certain whether he conquered these provinces. But most probably they were semi-independent, and owed allegiance to Asoka as suzerain. Paithan or Pratisthana must have been the capital of the Kings of the Rastikas at the time, as the information is gathered from the inscription at Pitalkhora.

The Andhras—The Maurya Dynasty lasted for 137 years. Its last King was murdered by Pushpamitra who founded the Sunga dynasty. The Sungas were in power for 112 years and the Kanvas who succeeded them ruled for 45 years. The latter were overthrown by Simuka, the founder of the dynasty of the Andhra-bhrityas, who were once servants or dependants. The Puranas give a list of names of these kings, and some of these names are found in the inscriptions and were discovered in the several parts of the Deccan.

The Andhras dwelt between the mouths of the Krishna and the Godaveri rivers, on the Bay of Bengal.

They were tributaries of Asoka, and after the death of that king they gradually assumed independence, destroyed the Kanvas and overran Maharashtra. They were also known as Satabahanas. They ruled for about three hundred years from B. C. 73 to about 218 A. D. Their long rule was interrupted by a foreign tribe called the Sakas for about 53 years. The dynasty was founded by Simuka in B. C. 73. Pulamayi, the son of Gotamiputra, drove out the foreigners, in co-operation with his father, and the father and the son ruled the country jointly. According to the Geography of Ptolemy the capital of Pulamayi was Paithan (130 A. D.).

The country under the Andhras was in a prosperous condition. The people were mostly Buddhist although Brahmanism was in a flourishing state. Princes and chiefs, merchants, goldsmiths, carpenters, corn-dealers and others excavated temples and monasteries for the use of Bhikshus out of solid rocks at Karli and other places at their own expense. Monasteries were also dug out in the caves on the seashore for the Buddhist priests. Most of the historical informations of the time are derived from the inscriptions found in these places. We gather from the "Periplus of the Erythrean Sea" that the country was enjoying material prosperity in these places. Broach, Sopara, Paithan, and Tagara were important for trade. Foreign vessels used to call at Broach, then known as.

Barugaza, and goods from the country were stocked there for export. Paithan was the greatest city in the Dakshinapatha. The important articles of export were rough stone, ordinary cottons, muslin, mallow coloured cottons, and spices and unguents, and the articles of imports were wine, and glass and specie and beautiful girls for the royal harem. It is evident from this that India was industrially ahead of the European countries.

“There were in those days” writes Dr. Bhandarkar, “guilds of trades such as those of weavers, druggists, corn-dealers, oil-manufacturers, etc.’ Their organization seems to have been complete and effective, since, as already mentioned, they received permanent deposits of money and paid interest in them from generation to generation. Self-government by means of such guilds and village-communities has always formed an important factor of the political administration of the country. A *nigama sabha* or town corporation is also mentioned in one of Ushavadata’s Nasik inscriptions, which shows that something like Municipal institution existed in those early days.” The rate of interest was from five to seven and half per cent per annum, which is a sufficient evidence of the efficiency of government. Inscriptions in different places bear testimony to the fact that people of different

provinces could move from long distances without great difficulty. There must have therefore been good inter-provincial roads.

The Dark Age—The fall of the Andhras was followed by a long period of darkness. For about three centuries there is no clear history of the rulers of the country. The Sakas and the Huns came from the west and there was great confusion in the country. It is believed that a branch of the Andhras ruled for some time and the Kshatrapya dynasty obtained a portion of the Deccan after the Satavahanas or Andhras. The Vayu Purana mentions the rise of the Andhras or a clan of cowherds for sixty-seven years. They probably reigned in the fourth century of the Christian era.

The inscriptions mention two indigenous tribes of Kshatriyas called Bhojas and Ratthis. The Ratthis in the north called themselves Maharatthis and one of their groups became known as Rashtrakutas. The princes of this Rashtrakuta family were in power from about the end of the third to the beginning of the sixth century.

The Early Chalukyas:—In the sixth century a new dynasty spread its supremacy over the Deccan. The original seat of the dynasty was Ayodhya and a branch of it migrated to the south and in course of time became supreme. These rulers were known as

Chalukyas, and according to tradition they belonged to the gotra of Manavya, and they were the descendants of Hariti. The first prince to become prominent was Jay Simha. He defeated the Rashtrakutas and became sovereign of the country. His grandson Pulakesi performed Asvamedha, and established his capital at Vatapipura, modern Badami in the Kaladgi district. His son Kirtivarman (567—591 A. D.) subdued parts of the Konkan and Kanara. Mangalisa (591—610 A. D.), the brother of Kirtivarman, defeated the Kalachuris of Chedi, near modern Jabbalpur, and is said to have carried his arms both to the eastern and the western seas.

Mangalisa occupied the throne during the minority of the sons of his brother Kirtivarman. But he tried to keep away his nephews from the throne and to place his own son instead. Pulakesi II, son of Kirtivarman, was a young man of remarkable abilities. He overthrew his uncle and assumed authority in 611 A. D. The reign of Pulakesi II was the most brilliant in the history of the early Chalukyas. He reduced his neighbouring kingdoms of the Kadambas of Banavasi, the Gangas of Chera, the Mauryas of Konkan. With a fleet of hundred ships he attacked Puri on the western coast, and the kings of Lata, Malwa, and Gurjara became his dependants. Harshavardhan of Kanouj made an attempt to extend his power in the south but he found in Pulakesi a very strong opponent. The Narmada thus

remained the southern boundary of Harshavardhana's empire. Later on Pulakesi invaded Kanchi, and the countries of the Cholas, the Pandyas and the Keralas in the south, who became his allies. His career of conquest closed before A. D. 634. He also sent an embassy to the King of Persia, and is said to have received one from him. Hiuen Tsiang, the great Chinese traveller visited Maharashtra about 639 A. D. He describes the country as 1200 miles in circuit and the capital six miles. His description of the character of the people has been already given.

The reign of Pulakesi is the most important. He was followed by a number of able rulers until 747 A. D. The descendants of the old Rashtrakuta family wrested from Kirtivarman II the country of their forefathers, and maintained sovereignty for a long period.

The long reign of the Chalukyas is marked by progress and prosperity. Hiuen Tsiang bore testimony to the virility of the race. Jainism was richly patronised by the princes and people as well as Buddhism. The former was rising into prominence whereas the latter was on the decline. Brahmanism, however, was fully restored, and the sacrificial rites, which went out of vogue during the ascendancy of the Buddhists, were revived. Temples were built to the Puranic gods—Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswar. The frescoes at Ajanta and the temples of Ellora stand as monuments of the

culture of the times. One fact has to be remembered that the kings were patrons of all the religions and extended their patronage impartially to all.

The Rashtrakutas.—During Chalukya rule in the Deccan the Rashtrakutas were in a state of vassalage. When Pulakesi II was in troubles they tried to recover independence but failed to achieve their object. But a Rashtrakuta chief Indra married a Chalukya princess. The off-spring of this union, Dantidurga, rebelled against Kirtivarman II and succeeded in defeating his army and getting possession of Badami (about 758 A. D.). He was succeeded by a number of able rulers. When they were secure in the territory of the Chalukyas they extended their powers in all directions. In the beginning their capital was Nasik. Later on Nripatunga, one of the rulers of the family founded the city of Manyakheta, identified with Malkhed in the Nizam's dominions, and removed the capital there. The greatest of the Rashtrakuta princes was Govinda III. "He appears to have become" writes Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, "the paramount sovereign of the whole country from Malwa in the north to Kanchipura in the south, and to have under his immediate sway the country between the Narmada and the Tungbhadra." His son Amoghavarsha was the greatest patron of the Digambara Jainas, and most probably he adopted the Jain faith. A number of Jain works are attributed

to him. Amoghavarsha abdicated two years before his death in favour of his son Akalavarsha. Some of the later kings became corrupt and licentious, and consequently confusion ensued. The last king of the family was Kakkala, who was conquered in battle by Tailapa of the Chalukyan race. The Rashtrakutas reigned from 748 A. D. to 973 A. D., that is, for nearly two centuries and a quarter.

The Rashtrakutas were patrons of learning. Sanskrit literature got a great impetus in their reign. They were very powerful. The Mahomedan rulers of Sindh were friendly with them, as they were allied against the Gurjara Kings of north Guzerat and Rajputana. Regarding the culture and civilisation of the time Dr. Bhandarkar writes:

“That the princes of this race were very powerful there can be little doubt. The rock-cut temples at Ellora still attest their power and magnificence. Under them the worship of the Puranic gods received much greater importance than before. The days when kings and princes got temples and monasteries cut out of the solid rocks for the use of the followers of Gotama Buddha had gone by, never to return. Instead of them we have during this period temples excavated or constructed on a more magnificent scale and dedicated to the worship of Siva and Vishnu. Several of the grants of these Rashtrakuta princes praise their country and mention their having constructed temple.

Still as the Kanheri inscriptions of the reign of Amoghavarsha I show Buddhism had its votaries and benefactors, though the religion had evidently sunk into unimportance. Jainism, on the other hand, retained the prominence it had acquired during the Chalukya period, or even made greater progress. Amoghavarsha was, as we have seen, a great patron of it, and was perhaps a convert to it, and some of the minor chiefs and the lower castes, especially the traders, were its devoted adherents. The form of the Jainism that prevailed in the country was mostly that professed by the Digambara sects. A good many of the extant Digambara works were, as we have seen, composed during this period."

The Later Chalukyas (A. D. 973 to 1189)—Tailapa belonged to a branch of the old Chalukya Kings. The origin of the new dynasty, however, is obscure. The usurper conciliated the people of Maharashtra by marrying a daughter of the late king of the Rashtrakutas. Besides consolidating his power in Maharashtra he had to fight against the Cholas in the south, and to ward off danger from Guzerat in the north. His greatest opponent was King Munja of Malwa, the uncle of the celebrated Bhoja. Munja is said to have led six successful expeditions against Tailapa, but ultimately when he took the offensive and crossed the Godaverī he became a prisoner, and on trying to escape was beheaded.

Tailapa ruled for 24 years. He was succeeded by his son Satyasraya, who died childless.

The Cholas are said to have overrun Maharashtra in his reign. Satyasraya left his kingdom to his nephew, Vikramaditya (1008 A. D.), who was killed shortly after by King Bhoja of Malwa in revenge of his uncle's death. But Jaysimha, Vikram's brother, in turn avenged his death by breaking up the confederacy of Malwa. The Cholas, however, were gaining strength day by day, and an attack of Jaysimha on their country was repulsed. Jaysimha died in 1040 and was succeeded by his son, Someshwara or better known as Ahavamalla. Ahavamalla made vigorous preparations against Chola aggressions, removed his capital from Yatagiri (30 miles south of Malkhed) to Kalyan, modern Kalyani in the Nizam's dominion. The removal of the capital to a central position proved to be a success. The Cholas were defeated at the battle of Koppam, and lost the provinces of Banavasi and Gangavadi. Ahavamalla had three sons. His second son, Vikramaditya was the ablest of all. He assisted the King of Malwa in driving his enemy from the country, and is said to have invaded Bengal and Assam. According to Bilhana he subjugated the southern kingdoms up to Ceylon and entered Kanchi and then plundered it. Ahavamalla died by drowning himself in the Tungbhadra while he was fighting

against the Cholas. His eldest son, Someshwara II succeeded to the throne. For sometime the two brothers were on good terms. But as Someshwara was weak and tyrannical he lost control over his own subjects. Vikramaditya II, with his younger brother, Jaysimha went to the Konkan, and received the submission of its king, Jaykeshi. After subjugating the Alupas and the Keralas he went to the Cholas. The Chola King Virarajendra offered help to him, and gave his daughter in marriage to him. Shortly after Virarajendra died, and there was dispute over his throne between his son, Adhiraja and his nephew Prince Kullottunga, the King of Vengi, who also incited Someshwara to march against his brother, in order to weaken the defence of Adhiraja. A bloody battle ensued in which Someshwara was taken prisoner. The two brothers lived in amity for sometime, but afterwards with the help of the disaffected nobility the weak Someshwara was dethroned and in 1076 A. D. Vikramaditya II became king under the title of Tribhuvanamalla. He appointed his brother, Jaysimha, viceroy of Banavasi. The brother having revolted became a prisoner and lost his authority.

He had in his court the poet Bilhana of Kashmir, who wrote the famous *Vikramanka-deo-Charita*, from which most of the historical informations are gathered. The renowned jurist, Vijñaneshwar, the author of

Mitakshara lived in his court. From all accounts it appears Vikramaditya II was the greatest prince of the later Chalukya dynasty, and during his reign the country enjoyed happiness and prosperity.

The next in succession was Someshwara III, the author of *Abhilashitartha Chintamani*, a marvellous book dealing with polity, astronomy, astrology, dialectics, rhetoric, poetry, music, painting, architecture, medicine, training of horses, elephants, dogs, etc. On account of his learning he received the title of *Sarvajna Bhupa*. He died in 1138 A. D. and shortly after his death, the power of the Chalukyas rapidly declined. A dependent Kalachuri Chief named Vijjala, who was the minister of war under King Tailapa II, usurped the throne. The Chalukya prince first removed his capital to Annigeri, and then to Banavasi. The Chalukya rule was interrupted for a few years. But Vijjala could not long continue in the throne. A new sect called the Lingayets arose. Their leader, Vasava Madhiraj, put Vijjala to death. In this confusion the Chalukya prince Someshwara IV managed to regain part of their dominions, and established himself at Annigeri, with the help of Bomma, a feudatory chief. He ruled till 1189 A. D. The restoration lasted only a short time. The Yadavas of the South under Vira Ballala and of the North under Bhillama then became powerful, and Someshawar dis-

appeared. in the scramble for the Empire. The Chalukyas never again rose into power. The Mahrathar families of the name of Chalke in the Sangamesvara Taluka and its neighbourhood still bear the old name.

The Yadavas.—The two dynasties which came into prominence on the downfall of the later Chalukyas were the Hoysalas of Dwara Samudra and the Yadavas of Devagiri. Ereyanga Hoysala was the governor of Gangavadi under Vikramaditya II. The territory at first belonged to the Cholas, but the defection of the Hoysala Chief brought about Vikramaditya's success. The Hoysalas gradually rose to power. By 1130 A. D. they became masters of modern Mysore, and of Hangal and Lakshmeshwar in the Dharwar district. During the revolution of 1159, Vir Ballala defeated Bomma and drove his army across the Krishna.

Seuna Chandra Yadava, who claims to be a descendant of King Krishna of Dwarka, was the Chief of Seunadesh, lying between Devagiri and Nasik. He was a faithful governor of Vikramaditya II. His successors remained loyal to the Chalukyas till the revolution. But when, however, the Chalukya government fell into disorder they considered themselves independent. On the defeat of Bomma by Vir Ballala Bhillama Yadava assumed sovereignty over the

country north of the Krishna, with Devagiri as capital (1191 A. D.).

There was constant friction between the Hoysalas and the Yadavas. In the beginning the Hoysalas held the better position. But by 1210 A. D. the Yadavas became superior. Their king, Singhana, invaded Malwa and Guzerat, and conquered the lower Konkan and the south Maratha country from the Hoysalas. Singhana ruled long until 1247. He was succeeded by his grandson, Krishna II, who also defeated the Hoysalas, the Gurjaras, and the king of Malwa. His brother, Mahadeva, succeeded him in 1260 A. D. He ruled for 11 years and when he died, his nephew Ramdeo stepped into his place. He was the last of the great Yadava rulers to govern Maharashtra independently. He was a wise king and during his reign the people were happy. He was fortunate in having Hemadpant or Hemadri, the renowned scholar, as his chief secretary, *Srikaranadhipa*. The *Vratakhanda* written by him gives a valuable account of the dynasty. The *Chaturvarga Chintamani*, divided into four parts, is an exposition of the religious doctrines of the Hindus. The Grammarian Bopadeva also lived in the court of Ramdev, and he was greatly patronised by Hemadri. Hemadri is said to have introduced the Modi or current form of writing. The Mahratha saint Jnandev also flourished during

this reign. He wrote a commentary of the Bhagavadgita in Marathi.

Such a prosperous career of the Mahratha nation was interrupted by the invasion of Ala-ud-Din Khalji in 1194 A. D.

CHAPTER III.

Maharashtra under Muhammadan Rule.

The Afghan Conquest.—The wealth and prosperity of the southern kingdoms awakened the lust of the Mussalmans of the north. Ala-ud-din Khalji was governor of Karra. He wanted to strengthen his position against his uncle and father-in-law, Jalal-ud-din Khalji, the Emperor of Delhi. He obtained permission to attack Chanderi, a Rajput fortress in Central India. When he reached there he heard of the rich treasures of the King of Devagiri. He crossed the Vindhya and reached Ellichpur, the northernmost city of Ramdeo's kingdom. People did not take notice of his advance as he gave out that he was going towards Rajahmundry. Suddenly he turned upon Devagiri and attacked the king unguarded. His son Sankaradev had gone out on a pilgrimage, and the king hurriedly gathered together a small force of 3,000 and stood against the Muhammadan invasion four miles in front of his capital. Ala-ud-din forced him back into the citadel and roused terror in the heart of the Mahrattas by sounding a false alarm that he led merely the advance party of Jalal-ud-din's army, and that a bigger party would follow him. Therefore the Mahratta chiefs became anxious to defend their own strongholds and left Ramdev almost alone. In this helpless condition Ramdev offered fifty maunds of gold, and a quantity of pearls and jewels in

order that he might return to Delhi. This satisfied Ala-ud-din, and he prepared to withdraw, when Sankardev returned from his pilgrimage. The Mahrattas fought bravely, but the troops under Malik Nasrat took them by the rear. Ala-ud-din asked his people to call out that the Delhi army had come. The Mahrattas panic-stricken dispersed in all directions. Ramdev intended to hold out. But when he found that his store of provisions was exhausted he had no other alternative than to surrender. Ala-ud-din now made very heavy demands. As a result of the settlement Ramdev had to give 600 maunds of gold, 2 maunds of diamond and pearls, 1000 maunds of silver, and 4000 pieces of silk. Besides he had to cede Ellichpur and its dependencies.

With the money got from the sack of Devagiri Ala-ud-din managed to slay his uncle and to put himself on the throne of Delhi (1296 A. D.). Ramadev did his best to restore afterwards the prosperity of his ruined city. But Ala-ud-din did not forget the wealth and prosperity of the south. Ten years after his accession to the throne he again formed plan of a southern expedition. The ostensible pretext of this expedition was the failure of Ramadev to pay the tribute on account of Ellichpur. Another pretext was that he afforded shelter to Devaladevi, the daughter of Karan Ghelo of Guzerat. Karan Ghelo was a Rajput chief. He committed a great outrage by trying to capture the beautiful Rup Sundari,

wife of his minister Madhav. The lady committed suicide, and her husband went to Delhi to seek protection under the emperor. Ala-ud-din sent his brother Alaf Khan to Guzerat. Karan Ghelo was defeated, and his chief queen Kamaladevi was taken to Delhi, where he adorned the harem of the emperor as his mistress. She had a daughter called Devaladevi. Sankardev, the son of Ramadev of Devagiri, sought her hands. But Karan Ghelo haughtily declined to give a Rajput girl to a Mahratta prince. Kamaladevi persuaded Ala-ud-din to send an expedition to bring her daughter to her. Alaf Khan demanded of Karan Ghelo the surrender of Devaladevi. This changed the mind of Karan, and he preferred to give her daughter to a Mahratta instead of disgracing his race by sending her to Delhi. In this desperate condition he sent his daughter with a small body guard to Devagiri. Unfortunately the party was overtaken on the way by the Moslem troops and the girl was taken to Delhi, where she was married to Prince Khizr Khan, the emperor's son. Malik Kafur reached Devagiri with the Afghan army. Ramadev finding further resistance hopeless capitulated, and offered to pay the arrear tribute in full and also a large indemnity. The offer was accepted. Shortly afterwards Ramadev visited Delhi, where he was received with honour. The emperor conferred upon him the title of Ray-i-Rayan, and besides restoring to him his old kingdom he added Navasari in Guzerat to his dominions. Ramadev was

ever afterwards faithful to the emperor till his death. When Malik Kafur passed Devagiri on an expedition to Warangal Ramadev rendered him all possible assistance. His son Sankardev was a brave Mahratta prince. He did not prove so yielding as his father. Malik Kafur did not receive any help from him in subjugating the Hoysalas of Dwara Samudra in 1310 A. D. Sankardev had also the boldness to withhold the tribute to Delhi. Malik Kafur therefore came on another expedition in 1312 A.D. He stormed Devagiri and beheaded Sankardev. In this expedition he overran the whole of Southern India upto Rameshwaram. Confusion in Delhi called Malik Kafur back. In 1316 A. D. Ala-ud-din was killed by poisoning in the hands of Malik Kafur, who had served him so well. The treacherous general killed most of the members of the emperor's family. He however could not escape the hands of Nemesis and was beheaded at the instance of Mubarak Khan, the late emperor's fourth son.

On the departure of Malik Kafur from the Deccan, Harpaldeva, the son-in-law of Ramdeva made an attempt to recover the lost kingdom of Devagiri. Sultan Mubarak came to chastise him in person. Harpaldeva was arrested and inhumanly flayed alive in 1318 A. D. Since then the emperors of Delhi had an uninterrupted government till 1347 A. D. Mubarak Khan built a chain of forts from the Vindhyas to Dwara Samudra, and all

hopes of Mahratta rising were crushed for more than three centuries.]

Devagiri the Capital of India—After completing the conquest of the Deccan Mubarik Khan appointed Malik Yaklaki as the commander-in-chief of the army in the south and parcelled out Maharashtra among Mohamēdan jagirdars. The Malik broke out into open rebellion (1320). An army was sent from Delhi to suppress the rising and Yaklaki was executed. The command of the army was then given to Ain-ul-Mulk of Multan.

Mubarak Khan's reign ended in confusion. He raised to high dignity a sweeper who accepted Islam, under the name of Malik Khusru. The new favourite attempted to set up a rebellion in the Deccan, but did not receive the support of the imperial officers. He later on assassinated Mubarak Khan and put himself on the throne. The ladies of the harem were distributed among his caste-fellows, and he kept for himself the beautiful Devaladevi, a tragic end of the Rajput princess's romantic career. Ghazi-ud-din Tughlak brought order out of the chaos of the time and established the strong government of the Tughlaks (August 23, 1321 A.D.).

The affairs of the Deccan once more fell into confusion, and Ghyas-ud-din's son Alat Khan was sent to restore order. The Prince's mission proved a success in Deogir, but his campaign in Warangal was a failure

as he had to retreat on receipt of a rumour of the emperor's death. Alai Khan was sent a second time with strong reinforcements. He captured Bidar, made it his base and forced Pratap Rudradeva of Warangal to surrender. The Kakatiya country was annexed and it received the new name of Sultanpur.

Ghayas-ud-din died in 1325 A. D. and was succeeded by his son Alai Khan, under the title of Muhammad Tughlak. The new sovereign was a philosopher, a poet and a scholar. He had all the gifts of a wise ruler. But his imagination sometimes carried him much beyond the requirements of his time and landed him into diasters. He made several projects which he could not carry out and his failures goaded him to try still more impracticable schemes. In the beginning of his reign he was engaged in quelling the disturbances in the distant provinces. His costly wars and his rich munificence depleted his treasury. In order to replenish it he began to circulate copper coins with the face value of gold. He however did not take the necessary safeguards of credit money and afforded opportunity to the speculators to bring about a crisis. His next scheme was to conquer China, and to bring her vast wealth to Delhi. The gigantic army sent across the Himalayas was totally annihilated in the mountain passes. He then cast his longing looks towards the south. Delhi was associated with

all his misfortunes and he thought of removing his capital to Devagiri. The new place was more central, and he could command the riches of the south more easily. With Devagiri as base Delhi had acquired Warangal and Dwara Samudra and it was nearer the northern and the eastern provinces of the empire. There also was no apprehension of an attack from the north-west. The idealist emperor therefore ordered the whole population of Delhi, along with the court and the offices to remove to Devagiri. Regular roads were built from the old to the new capital, and all comforts for the migrants were provided. The ancient name Devagiri was changed into Daulatabad (the city of wealth). He resolved to make it worthy of an emperor's residence. The Marathas were forced to render free service to gratify the whims of their master. A strong fortress was built on the rock not far from the city. Galleries ran inside the fortifications, and nothing was left to make it impregnable. For a few years Devagiri enjoyed the position of the imperial capital. During this period of glory all the works which are its most marvellous features were executed. The city is now in ruins, but it still retains the name given by Muhammad Tughlak, and reminds the passers by of the vanities of humanity.

The removal of the capital was anything but happy. Insurrections took place in various parts of the empire. The viceroy of the Punjab rebelled.

The governors of Bengal and Southern Konkan revolted. The southern provinces including Devagiri showed signs of restlessness. This was a hard time for the emperor. To add to his troubles his troops were attacked with a pestilence. The emperor himself had an attack. In the midst of such difficulties he gave orders of marching back to Delhi. Central India was at that time under the grip of famine, and most of the emigrants from Daulatabad died on the way for want of food. A small portion reached Delhi. It took a long time for old Delhi to regain its prosperity. Daulatabad's splendour remained a half-forgotten dream to her.

The rebellion in the south grew stronger on the retirement of the Emperor. Krishnadev, a relative of Pratap Rudradev II of Warangal rose in rebellion, and with the help of Harihar of the newly risen Vijayanagar kingdom regained the country. The success of Krishnadev inspired others to rise, and within a short time Daulatabad remained the only place faithful to Delhi. Kutlugh Khan, the old tutor of the emperor, was sent to the Deccan, but before he could complete his operations he was recalled and Ain-ul-Mulk of Oudh was appointed in his place. Ain-ul-Mulk fretted at this order and rebelled, but he was put down by Muhammad Tughlak with a strong hand. On the withdrawal of Kutlugh Khan the Deccan again became rebellious, and Daulatabad only remained in the hands of the emperor.

The policy of Muhammad Tughlak had meanwhile undergone another change. He thought he should not give the high offices to men of rank and position but to the men of low origin in order that they might remain faithful to him out of gratitude. Besides he began to crush the old nobility with the help of the newly appointed men. Aziz, a liquorseller, was appointed governor of Malwa. He treacherously murdered 70 Mussulman nobles at a dinner party. This act received the approval of the emperor. Makhil, a slave, was appointed governor of Guzerat. These made the old nobility rise in rebellion. The emperor came personally to crush the rebels in Guzerat. From there he sent Makhil to bring the nobles of Daulatabad. The nobles anticipating what would befall them overpowered the guard and returned to Daulatabad. Muhammad Tughlak in a fury came to Daulatabad, defeated the nobles and besieged the city. In his absence the Guzerat nobles once more rose in arms. Mad in anger he raised the siege of Daulatabad, and pursued the nobles of Guzerat to Sindh. There he was attacked with fever and died 30 miles from Thatta in Sindh on March 20, 1351 A. D.

The nobles of Daulatabad in their struggle against Muhammad Tughlak elected Ismail, a commander of a thousand horse as their leader. But during the siege, and afterwards in the defence of the country against Imad-ul-Mulk one Hasan rose into prominence. Ismail or Nasir-ud-din recognising the merit of Hasan, and seeing ta-h

he had already acquired ascendancy over the army abdicated in his favour. In 1347 Hasan founded the Bahmani dynasty under the title of Sultan Alla-ud-din Hasan Gangu Bahmani as a mark of gratitude to his old master the Brahman Gangadhar or Gangu of Delhi.

Once again Maharashtra became autonomous although under foreign rulers. The new revolution, says Grant Duff, was aided by the native princes of the Deccan and from several circumstances in the conduct of the war, particularly the desultory plans adopted by the insurgents which always require the aid of the native inhabitants of any country, there is strong presumption of their having contributed more to its success than the Mussalman historian was aware of or perhaps was willing to allow.

The Bahmani Kingdom :—The dynasty of Hasan Gangu ruled over the Deccan for thirteen generations for over a century and a half. The founder had the insight of a statesman and followed the policy of conciliation. He distributed lands among the leading Marathas, granted them pardon, confirmed most of them in their old positions, and conferred military rank on some of the chiefs. By such means he strengthened the foundation of the new administration. The internal government of the country rested entirely with the people. The new rulers did not interfere with the old Marhatta institutions. The people, therefore, remained loyal to them.

Mahratta Institutions—The political unit of Maharashtra, as in almost all other parts of India, was a village. The change of governments and dynasties could not destroy the village institutions. Mr. E. B. Havell in his new book, *Aryan Rule in India* writes: "But in India a political freedom had been built upon the basis of the village republics from the earliest period of her history, and no Buddhist or Hindu King attempted to curtail the right to administer their own affairs which the village republics enjoyed under the Aryan system of constitutional government. There was no struggle for freedom of conscience or for political rights of individuals because both were established by the unwritten law of the land confirmed by every monarch in his coronation oath." Every village is a small state in miniature, writes Grant Duff. The villagers are mainly cultivators, either Meerasdars (hereditary occupants) or Oopries (tenants-at-will). The complete establishment of a village consisted of *Patell*, *Koolkurni* and *Chogula* and 24 other castes of artisans, and public servants, known as *Barow Baloutay* and *Barow Alowtay*.

The *Patell* is the headman of the village, and the *Chogula* is his assistant. The *Koolkurni* is the village clerk. In all important matters the *Patell* consults the *Panchayat*, consisting of five persons. The ancient name of the *Patell* and the *Koolkurni* were *Gramadhikari*

and *Gramlekhuks*. These officers collected the land revenue, which was one-sixth of the crop. Several villages formed a district, with a *Deshmookh* and a *Deshpandya* as officers. These officers were mere agents, and were not allowed to usurp greater power than the office permitted. The kings always carried on their administration with the help of these officers. Hasan Gangu maintained the old organisation and thus could consolidate the empire without much difficulty.

Main Features of the Bahmani Administration:—
In the beginning the Bahmanis ruled over the country lying between the Sahyadri and Warangal, and the Narmada and the Krishna. Gangadhar, the old master of Hasan became his treasurer and so long as he lived the work of government went on undisturbed. Hasan was succeeded by his son, Muhammad Shah I (1358 A. D.). His reign was disturbed by constant warfare against Warangal and Vijayanagar. The Bahmani king proved too strong for them. The King of Warangal ceded Golkonda, and bought off peace by presenting the Takhti Firoz, a throne of solid gold studded with precious gems which Pratap Rudradev II had prepared for Muhammad Tughlak. Vijayanagar was also forced to make peace. Muhammad Shah I died in 1375 A. D., and was succeeded by his brother, Mujahid Shah. He also carried on a continuous war against Vijayanagar for

the possession of a few places in the Doab of the Krisna and the Tungbhadra. Mujahid was murdered by his uncle Daud Shah, who tried to set himself on the throne. In this project he failed and Mahmud Shah the youngest son of Hasan Gangu was made the king (1378 A. D.). Mahmud was a good king. He reigned for nineteen years in peace. His learning and moderation brought on him the title of the second Aristotle. He was succeeded by his son Ghyas-ud-Din (1397 A. D.) a youth of only seventeen years.

He was blinded by a Turkish slave called Lalchin, because he demanded the beautiful daughter of this slave for his harem. His brother, Shams-ud-din, was then placed on the throne. But Firoz Khan and Ahmad Khan, the two younger sons of Daud Shah wreaked vengeance upon Lalchin, and Firoz Khan became king under the title of Firoz Shah Bahmani (1397 A. D. Nov. 15). The new king was a scholar and a linguist. He conducted twenty-four campaigns against the Hindus, and extended the borders of his empire. But he was celebrated for his libidinous character, as he had in his harem beautiful women of all nationalities, including those of Greece and Italy, Russia and Thibet, Afghanistan and India. There was civil strife towards the end of his reign, and he abdicated 10 days before his death in favour of his brother who ascended the throne under the title of Ahmad Shah (March 1422). Ahmad Shah was a strong ruler. He defeated the king

of Vijayanagar, and annexed the kingdom of Warangal. He reigned for over twelve years and got the title of 'Wali' or Saint. He died in February 1435. The succession was disputed between his two sons, Ala-ud-Din and Muhammad Khan. The former triumphed in the struggle, and Muhammad Khan was appointed governor of Raichur. The King had another trouble from his despised wife, Malika Jehan. At her instigation her father the King of Khandesh allied himself with the King of Guzerat and came against Ala-ud-Din. The command of the Bahmani army was given to a Persian officer Malik-ul-Tujar. Under that Persian officer the campaign brought victory to Ala-ud-Din. But the incident brought ruin upon the kingdom. The King henceforth preferred Persian and foreign officers to Deccanis and Abyssinians, who discontented formed themselves into a clique. Vijayanagar made another attempt to regain its lost position, but ultimately had to accept the Kings of Bidar as overlords, and to pay tribute to them. Ala-ud-Din died in 1458. His son and successor Humayun after a tyrannous rule of three years and a half was assassinated by his servants (1461 A. D.). The reign of his nine year old young son, Nizam Shah, lasted for less than 2 years. The Hindu Chief of Orissa suffered a terrible defeat at the hands of the Bahmani troops. But the young King died of heart failure at the time of celebrating the victory. His younger brother Muhammad Shah II succeeded him. He had.

a noble minister in Khwaja Muhammad Gawan. Gawan was connected with the royal family of Persia. He was forced to leave his country by Shah Tamasp. He came to Bidar as a merchant, and Sultan Ala-ud-Din made him a noble of his court. He became the first minister of Humayun, and during the minority of Nizam Shah and Muhammad Shah II he continued in office. The strength of Muhammad Shah's government depended upon the minister.

Gawan's Reforms.—In the beginning the dominions of the Bahmanis included Maharastra, and parts of Telingana, and of the Raichur and Mudkal Doab. The second King Muhammad Shah had divided the empire into four Tarafs *viz.* Gulbarga, Daulatabad, Telingana and Berar. Each province was under a governor who had to maintain an army within his own province. Whenever the Sultan declared war the provincial governors were summoned to join him. In course of time the governors became very powerful. The later conquests were added to the old divisions. Mahmud Gawan saw the defects in the system. He made an attempt to curtail the powers of the Tarafdars and to increase the authority of the King by dividing the empire into eight divisions. The revenues of the provinces were to be collected for the King, for which purpose special collectors were appointed. The measures however created discontent among the nobility. They formed a conspiracy

against the Prime Minister. Nizam-ul-Mulk, the governor of Telungana was at the head of this conspiracy. He forged a letter purporting to be written by Mahmud Gawan to the Raja of Orissa offering to divide between themselves the Bahmani kingdom. The letter was put into the hands of the King, and Gawan was beheaded by an Abyssinian slave in his presence.

Dismemberment of the Empire.—The death of Mahmud Gawan led to the dismemberment of the Bahmani kingdom. It did not take the king long to discover the conspiracy. He died almost in a demented condition in 1482. His twelve year old son, Mahmud Shah, succeeded him. Nizam-ul-Mulk who was appointed minister in place of Mahmud Gawan practically controlled the Kingdom. He was jealous of Yusuf Adil Shah, the governor of Bijapur. Yusuf was a Turkish prince. He was under the order of execution in Turkey. Somehow he managed to come to India and became a slave of Mahmud Gawan. At the capital of the Bahmanis he found sufficient opportunity to show his talents, and soon rose to prominence. When his master was murdered he and two other officers, Imad-ul-Mulk and Khudawand Khan, managed to obtain the governments of Bijapur and two parts of Berar.

Yusuf Adil Shah and his confederates were asked by Imad-ul-Mulk to come to Bidar. But as soon as they entered the city Imad-ul-Mulk attacked them with the

royal forces. Yusuf Adil Shah and Imad-ul-Mulk managed to escape somehow and declared themselves independent in Bijapur and Berar respectively (1487). Thus began the dismemberment of the Bahmani kingdom. Nizam-ul-Mulk had appointed his son, Malik Ahmad, governor of the western provinces of Daulatabad and Joonnere. When the King had Nizam-ul-Mulk murdered Malik Ahmad threw off his allegiance and declared himself independent under the title of Ahmad Nizam Shah. The foundation of the Nizam Shah dynasty of Ahmadnagar was laid in this manner. The Tarafdar of Telingana, Kutb-ul-Mulk, next fell off, and established the Kutb Shahi dynasty of Golconda (1512). Bidar now remained the only territory of the Bahmanis. The King, however, was a puppet in the hands of the minister. Kasim Barid was appointed minister after Nizam-ul-Mulk. When Kasim died his son Amir Barid stepped into his place. Amir Barid imprisoned Muhammad Shah, who died in prison after a reign of 37 years. His son, Ahmad Shah, died in poverty two years after him. His two successors were killed by Amir Barid. The only surviving member of the dynasty was Kalim Ulla, son of Ahmad Shah. He asked Babar for help. But the Mughul Emperor could not come to his rescue. So Kalim Ullah fled to Bijapur, and from there to Ahmadnagar, where he died in 1539. After his death Ali Barid formally declared himself King of Bidar.

Out of the vast dominions of the Bahmanis arose five important States viz. (1) the Nizam Shahi kingdom of Ahmadnagar, (2) the Adil Shahi kingdom of Bijapur, (3) the Kutb Shahi kingdom of Golconda, (4) the Imad Shahi kingdom of Berar, and (5) the Barid Shahi kingdom of Bidar. Berar was annexed to Ahmadnagar in 1574, and Bidar was annexed to Bijapur by 1619. So in the beginning of the seventeenth century the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Golconda, and Bijapur, were the three which deserve our attention. Of these three, however, the first was greatly reduced in size and power by the Moghuls, and was the first to be added to the Delhi Empire.

CHAPTER IV.

The Renaissance.

The Five States:—The five States which arose on the ruins of the Bahmani kingdom were engaged in constant warfare. Either they were fighting against each other or fighting against the powerful Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. In this conflict Berar and Bidar suffered, and after the battle at Talikota (1564) Vijayanagar was ruined. The hopes of the Hindus in the South were utterly crushed. The old city remains to this day a scene of ruin and desolation. The Muhammadans could not annex the country on account of jealousy amongst themselves, but the Hindu Kingdom could not rise again as it was divided into pieces. Deshmukhs and vassal chiefs became independent in this state of confusion

Maharashtra in 1573:—The population of these states were not homogeneous. Warangal was a Telugu country, and had nothing in common with the other states. Bijapur was an extensive state lying between the Neera and the Tungbhadra. Its population was mainly Canarese. Ahmadnagar was practically the Mahratta country with Khandesh and Berar. "Within its frontier" writes a modern author "the great Maratha resolution had its birth. At Junnar, one of its fortresses, Shivaji was born. At Poona, one of its towns, Shivaji passed his

boyhood His grandfather Maloji and his father Shahaji were nobles in the Ahmadnagar king's employment." The history of the Marathas, therefore, was bound up for about two centuries with these States.

Internal Administration in the Period :—The country was divided into *Sirkars*, and *Sirkars* were generally divided into *Farganas*, called by the Hindus, *Prant* or *Desh*. Most of these *Prants* were entrusted to the Hindus. The villages were either farmed out or Hindu *Aumils* collected the revenue on behalf of the Government. Disputes relating to hereditary office or property were decided by the *Panchayat* consisting of fifteen persons, both Hindu and Muhammadan. Over a number of *Aumildars* there were *Mokassodars*. These officers were not hereditary and used to get a percentage upon the revenue as remuneration. The *Mokassadar* was not always a Muhammadan. Above the *Mokassadar* there used to be a *subah*. He had no share in the revenue management, and was not a resident officer.

The Condition of the Marhattas :—The Marhattas enjoyed high offices under the Muhammadan kings. About the year 1529 Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar appointed a Brahman his *peshwa* or prime minister. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur showed a great preference for the natives of Maharashtra both for civil

and military appointments. He discontinued keeping the accounts in Persian, and introduced Marathi instead. He disbanded his foreign troops and formed a Deccan cavalry and introduced the practice of enlisting Berghees, who were supplied with horse by the state. In almost all the states Mahrattas were bestowed *munsabs* or individual command with the privilege of enjoying *jaghcers*. The hill forts were generally garrisoned by the Mahrattas, and the important chiefs received the title of Raja, Naik or Rao. The Berghees were very useful to the Muhammadan rulers. The chiefs could procure horses at short notice, and so saved the states lots of wasteful expenditure for maintaining horses.

The Mahrattas who enjoyed office and power were mostly faithful to their masters. They had often to fight against each other when they were in the service of the rival states. They rarely showed any unity amongst themselves out of national sentiment, and very often they were at feuds with each other out of private causes. The dissension amongst the Mahrattas kept the Muhammadan rulers strong in their government. But the decline in power of these states and the part that the Mahrattas played in the period of transition changed the ideal of the people. They could look beyond their degraded position provided they were properly

organised. They saw ray of hope in the altered circumstances. This new spirit helped the growth of the nation. In their dependent condition they could hardly maintain their self respect. When their masters were humiliated they got an opportunity to raise their heads.

Principal Mahratta Families—The names of the Mores of Jaoli, the Naiks of Phaltan, the Ghatges of Mullaore, the Manes of Muswar, the Ghorepades, the Dufles, and the Savants of Wardi appear very prominently in the history of Bijapur. In Ahmadnagar the Jadav Raos were very powerful. They are supposed to have been the descendants of the old Yadava Rajas of Devagiri. Lokhji Jadav Rao held a jaghir under the Nizam Shahis for the support of 1,000 horse. Another family which rose into prominence was that of the Bhonsles of Virole near Daulatabad. In this family was born Shivaji. These Mahratta leaders held high offices and inspired confidence in the people in their ability to govern their own country.

Chandra Rao More was a Naik of Bijapur in the reign of Yusuf Adil Shah. He was in command of 12,000 infantry. He dispossessed the Shirke Raja and defeated the troops of Burhan Nizam Shah. For these services he was confirmed as Raja of Jaoli, where his family ruled for seven generations. The Naiks of Phaltan were Deshmukhs. They were known

as Rao Naik Nimbalkars. They were made Surdesh-mukhs and polygars later on. Jugpal Naik lived in the early part of the seventeenth century. His sister Deepa Bai was the grandmother of Shivaji. Mallojee comes from the Bhonsle family of Virde, who were *Patells* of several villages. "He early married the sister of Jugpal Rao Naik Nimbalkar of Phaltan. At the age of 25 in 1577 he entered the service of Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar by the interest of Lakhji Jadav Rao of Sindkherr. He was an active Sillidar, and attained distinction very shortly. His son Shahji was born in 1594. It is said that by the favour of the goddess Bhowani he obtained enormous wealth, with which he endowed temples and other works of public utility and succeeded in getting the command of 5,000 horse, with the title of Mallojee Raja Bhonsle. The forts of Shivneri and Chakan were placed in his charge, and Poona and Supa he got as *jaghirs*. The future history of Maharashtra was greatly moulded in these places. Jadav Rao Nimbalkar was now persuaded to give his daughter in marriage to Shahji. The offspring of this marriage was the great founder of the Mahratta confederacy.

The Ahmadnagar Kingdom,—The founder of the Nizam Shahi dynasty Ahmad Nizam Shah was an able general and administrator. He left a well-governed state to his son Burhan Nizam Shah (1508). Burhan was a boy of seven when he ascended the throne, and

was placed under the able guardianship of Mukami Khan. He married Bibi Miriam, the daughter of Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur, and the sister of Ismail Adil Shah, the reigning king. The Bijapur King promised to give Burhan Sholapur and five and half districts as dowry. But he never redeemed his promise. For this breach of promise Burhan declared war against Bijapur but was utterly defeated (1524 A. D.) He once again was in danger for changing his religion by becoming a Shia. Kings of Guzerat, Bijapur, and Khandesh formed themselves into a league to divide his Kingdom. But by a clever manœuvre he bought off the Kings of Guzerat and Khandesh. Later on he induced the kings of Berar, Golconda and Bidar to ally themselves with Ram Raja of Vijayanagar against Bijapur. Burhan Shah led the allied army and besieged Kalyani, and succeeded in obtaining Sholapur and five and half districts. He died in 1555 and Bijapur managed to outlive this crisis. Hussain Nizam Shah now occupied the throne of Ahmadnagar. He was the son of Burhan's first wife, the dancing girl Amina. The son of Bibi Miriam went over to Bijapur. Ibrahim Adil Shah, the King of Bijapur, sought the help of Ram Raja of Vijayanagar. The allied army won a victory. But Ibrahim Adil Shah died of excess in the course of the celebrations of victory. His son Ali Adil Shah continued the alliance with Ram Raja and the allies were strengthened by the support of Golconda.

The three armies besieged Ahmadnagar. Hussain Nizam Shah in this perilous condition was forced to cede the fortress of Kalyani to Bijapur, and to receive *pan* as an inferior at the hands of Rama Raja.

Five years later Hussain Nizam Shah in alliance with the King of Golconda tried to retake Kalyani. Berar and Bidar joined Bijapur and Vijayanagar. Ahmadnagar was again besieged, but a quarrel among the allies saved it. The Hindus defiled the Moslem holy places, and Ram Raja insulted the Mussalman Kings of Bijapur, Golconda, Berar and Bidar. At this the Mussalman kings gave up their quarrel and combined to crush Vijayanagar. Hussain Nizam Shah and Ali Adil Shah entered into matrimonial alliances. The kings of Golconda and Bidar joined them. Ram Raja was defeated at Talikota on the Krishna, his head was cut off and placed on a spear. Vijayanagar's glory vanished for ever (1564). Hussain Nizam Shah died shortly after the victory (1565). Murtaza Nizam Shah succeeded his father, and made a fresh treaty with Ali Adil Shah. The principal provisions of the treaty were that Adil Shah would complete the conquest of Vijayanagar and Murtaza would conquer Berar. The campaign against Berar was very successful. The infant King Burham Imad Shah, and the usurper Tufal Khan were made prisoners, and on the death of the

captives in 1575 Berar was annexed. Towards the end of his life Murtiza Nizam Shah became insane and was murdered by his son Miran. After the murder of his father Miran ascended the throne but he was put into prison at the instance of his Minister, Mirza Khan. Ahmadnagar was now full of factions. There was rivalry between the party of foreigners to which Mirza Khan belonged, and the Deccani party. The latter party demanded the release of Miran. The mob set fire to the gates of the city, and then Mirza Khan was beheaded. The foreign soldiers were massacred (1589 A. D.)

The state of confusion gave Emperor Akbar an opportunity to interfere. He helped Burham Nizam Shah, the brother of Murtaza, to occupy the throne. On his death in 1595 his son Ibrahim Nizam Shah occupied the throne only for a few months. He died while fighting against Bijapur. On his death his infant son Bahadur was crowned King, and Chand Bibi was appointed regent. Chand Bibi was the daughter of Hussain Nizam Shah, and the widow of Ali Adil Shah. She was a lady of extraordinary ability. She was guardian of her nephew Ibrahim Adil Shah on the death of her husband. But on account of an intrigue in the court of Bijapur she was put under confinement at Satara. Although she was released by the people she left Bijapur in disgust, and came to Ahmadnagar. People had perfect confidence in her. But the factions at Ahmadnagar invited the invasion of the Moghul army. Prince Murad came at the head of

the army. Chand Bibi made a heroic defence. Murad admired the gallantry of the lady, and retired on the cession of Berar (1596). Unfortunately the trouble did not end here. There was no end of factions in Ahmadnagar. Akbar came in person and besieged the city. Chand Bibi was forced to evacuate the capital and took shelter in Junnar. The noble queen was murdered by her own soldiers and Bahadur Shah was taken as a prisoner to Gwalior, where he died in 1600. Akbar annexed Khandesh and Ahmadnagar but he could not conquer the entire province. The Abyssinian faction, under the leadership of Malik Amber, managed the affairs of the State. Murtiza Nizam Shah II was placed on the throne. The capital was removed to Khirki after a few years.

The Mahratta country, although under the Mussalman rulers, practically enjoyed autonomy. With the Moghul invasions they apprehended tyranny associated with the old Afghan rule from Delhi. The national sentiment appealed to the Mahratta leaders, and they joined the movement to oppose Moghul invasions in no mean spirit.

Religious Revival :—A sketch of the political history of Maharashtra from the early times upto the end of the sixteenth century of Christian era has been given in the preceding pages. But Indian history cannot be properly understood unless we follow the trend of religious movement in the country. We have already seen that during the rule of the Andhras

Buddhism was the prevalent religion. Gradually the precepts of Buddha were forgotten by the people, and the cult of Mahabir appealed to the popular view. This again was superseded by the monotheistic religion preached by Sankaracharya. From the seventh century onwards we find beautiful temples dedicated to God Shiva. The rationalism of the Vedantic religion, however, was not sufficient to awaken the devotional spirit of the Marathas. The poet Dnyandev of Pandharpur who lived in the reign of Ramdev of Devagiri gave a new turn to the movement. He was an outcaste Brahman. But by his devotion he became a saint. He wrote a Marathi commentary on the Bhagavat Gita and also many other poems rousing the devotional spirit of the people. On account of his saintly life Pandharpur attracted a large number of pious men. His followers came mostly from low classes. Chokhamela was a Mhar, Rohidas was a Chambar. Kabir who came from the north was a Mussalman. Namdev was a tailor. "They were all" writes Mr. Kincaid, "men of holy and austere lives. Their worship of Krishna was eminently pure and sane. Their preaching and their poems stimulated men's minds and led them to seek a refuge from their sorrows at Krishna's shrine. The spot where Dnyandev and his brothers and sister died became centres from which the Pandharpur tenets were promulgated from the Bhima to the Tapti and from Alandi to Saswad. Men who made pilgrimages to these shrines were drawn to each other by their common knowledge of the Marathi speech

and of the doctrines of the Pandharpur Saints. In this way there came into existence the beginnings of a national feeling."

The love for God made them realise the brotherhood of man. Through religion people were brought to unity. "Religious revival and puritan enthusiasm" says Mr. Ranade "were at work in the land, and it was clear to men's minds that the old bigotry must cease. This religious enlightenment was the principal point of departure from the earlier traditions of submission to brute force and it made itself manifest in the form of a determination that Mahomedan intolerance should not again spread in the land. None felt this influence more strongly than the worshippers, who placed their faith in the shrines of Bhawani at Tuljapur and Kolhapur. They caught this fire and communicated it to others through their bards, the Gondhlis and the Bhatas."

The spirit of Maharashtra was thus fully awakened for a national regeneration. The social conditions, the religious spirit and the political circumstances all were favourable for the growth of national life and character. The rise of the Marathas was not thus an accident. While the Mnssalmans in the south were indulging in vice and riot the Marathas were going through a process of purification. Their clean and pure lives prepared them for the position thus acquired later on.

The Turk rulers brought ruin upon themselves. When they degraded themselves in the eyes of the people they lost their power to control them. Government could no longer be their work, because it required superior moral force on the part of rulers. The Marathas were inspired by a religious fervour and they quickly rallied round the banner of their leader who embodied in his life and character the noblest ideals of the people.

CHAPTER V.

The Moghul advance in the Deccan.

Malik Amber :—The last days of Akbar were darkened by the rebellion of his eldest son Selim and the death of Prince Daniyal, his third son. He died in broken health in 1605, and was succeeded by Selim under the title of Jehangir. The rebellion of Khusru, Jehangir's eldest son, in turn, kept the Delhi Government too busy to look after the affairs of the south till 1606 A. D. In this interval of six years Malik Amber, the Abyssinian minister of Murtiza Nizam Shah II tried to retrieve the lost position of Ahmadnagar. Immediately after the fall of Ahmadnagar he strongly fortified Daulatabad, and reformed the system of revenue collection. He abolished revenue farming and appointed Brahman agents for collection, under the supervision of Mahomedan officers. The old system of village administration was restored, and the revenue was assessed at the rate of two fifths of the actual produce, which in turn was commuted in money to be paid annually. People under these reforms became prosperous and happy, and the state treasury also became full. In 1610 A. D. Malik Amber felt himself strong enough to regain the provinces conquered by the Moghul emperor. His operations from 1610 to 1615 A. D. were uninterrupted success. He had made Khirki, modern Aurangabad, the capital, and employed all the resources of the state in driving the Moghuls

out of the Nizam Shahi territory. He succeeded in recovering the city of Ahmadnagar, and almost the whole of the old kingdom excepting one or two districts in the north. Jehangir did not like to be deprived of the conquests of his father, and sent his son, Khurram, to conduct the campaign against Malik Amber. Khurram was an able soldier, and made Malik Amber leave his newly conquered territories point by point. The Abyssinian leader was put to serious troubles. His revenue fell off, and the soldiers could not be paid regularly. He lost Ahmadnagar fort, and some of the veteran generals left his service and went over to the Moghuls (1621). Lokhjee Jadava Rao of Sindkheir was one of these renegades. Other Mahratta Chiefs remained faithful. In the accounts of a battle fought in 1620 the names of Jadava Rao and Shahjee Bhonsle are mentioned. The latter had succeeded his father Maliojee who died in 1619. Since he joined the service of Ahmadnagar he distinguished himself by his bravery.

In 1621 circumstances in Delhi interrupted the campaigns in the south. Nur Jehan persuaded Jehangir to accept her son-in-law Shahriyar, the youngest son of the emperor, as his heir, and to recall Khurram from the Deccan. Khurram rose in rebellion, but was defeated by the Imperial troops. He then sought refuge in Guzerat, Khandesh and Bengal successively. At last he came to Malik Amber, and was cordially

received by him. The two now led combined attack against the Moghul troops. The prince did not find the new policy very hopeful and asked the forgiveness of his father, leaving Malik Amber to his fate. Jehangir, however, was now not the master of himself. He was first a prisoner in the hands of general Mahabat Khan who had incurred the displeasure of Nur Jehan. Nur Jehan succeeded in extricating Jehangir, but the intriguing general joined Khurram, who was then contemplating a flight to Persia. The death of the emperor in 1627 made it easier for Khurram to occupy the throne.

Malik Amber died in 1626 leaving his charge to his son Fateh Khan. The new minister made up a peace with the Moghul general, Khan Jehan Lodi. Murtiza Nizam Shah^{II} had by this time attained majority and wanted to curtail the powers of the regent. With the help of an officer named Tukurrib Khan he put Fateh Khan into the prison (1629 A. D.) On the fall of Fateh Khan Lokhjee Jadava Rao came back to Ahmadnagar, but he was treacherously murdered by the Nizam. In utter dismay his widow went to the Moghuls, and was confirmed in the jaghir of Sindkheir. and ever afterwards the Jadavas remained faithful to the Moghuls.

Fresh troubles came upon the Nizam from different quarters. The Moghul general Khan Jehan Lodi

was a personal enemy of the emperor Shah Jehan. He was transferred to Malwa and then called to Delhi. There he suspected treachery and fled to the Deccan, and received the support of Murtiza Nizam Shah in his rebellion. Shah Jehan took the field in person. Khan Jehan Lodi was pursued to his last retreat, and slain in 1630. The Nizam Shahis were now hard pressed by the Moghuls for taking up the cause of the rebel commander. Finding his position insecure Shahjee tendered his services to the emperor, and was confirmed in his old jaghirs, and granted some districts belonging to Fateh Khan. The difficulties of Murtiza Nizam Shah were increased by a famine at the time. Almost in a desperate condition he released Fateh Khan, and put him into power. But the offended minister threw Murtiza into prison and placed his infant son, Hussain on the throne, and appointed himself his regent. To strengthen his position against the rebellious spirit of the people he bought the support of the emperor by rich presents and got back the districts granted to Shahjee. The latter was aggrieved at this treatment and with the help of Murar Jagdev, entered the service of Bijapur, (1631 A.D.)

Bijapur and Ahmadnagar :—Ibrahim Adil Shah II, king of Bijapur, was jealous of Malik Amber. He had been an ally of the Moghuls, and entered into an agreement with them to divide the kingdom of Ahmadnagar between themselves. Ibrahim, however,

died in the same year as Malik Amber (1626 A. D.) and was succeeded by his son Mahomed Adil Shah. The new king was not desirous of perpetuating Moghul government in his neighbourhood. He therefore entered into a secret negotiation with Murtiza Nizam Shah, and sent Randulla Khan apparently to help the Moghuls, but really to promote the cause of Murtiza. Randulla demanded of the Moghul general Azim Khan the districts promised in the old agreement. Azim Khan did not comply with his request, and suspecting an intrigue between the two kingdoms inflicted a severe defeat upon Randulla Khan. It was in these circumstances that Fateh Khan was released. We have already seen that Shahjee had left the Moghul service in disgust and went over to Bijapur. He persuaded Mahomed Adil Shah to make an attack upon Daulatabad. Fateh Khan applied to the Moghul general Mahabat Khan for help, and offered the surrender of Daulatabad, and proposed to become the vassal of the Moghul Emperor. Mahabat Khan sent an army under his son Khan Jaman. But before Khan Jaman could reach Daulatabad Shahjee had come there, and by diplomatic overtures turned Fateh Khan from Moghul alliance. At this treachery of Fateh Khan Mahabat invested Daulatabad. The impregnable fort was stormed, Fateh Khan surrendered with the fort of Daulatabad, and the infant king Hussain Nizam Shah was taken a prisoner to Gwalior. The siege lasted for 58 days and was marked by heroism and bravery on both sides.

Shahjee tried once more to take the fortress by storm, but he was driven back by Khan Dauran, the commandant of the garrison. Mahabat Khan pursued the Bijapur troops. At this stage he was superseded by prince Shuja, and he was put second in command. This division of responsibility reduced the vigour of the operations. The Moghuls were defeated at Parendia, and were compelled to retreat to Burhanpur. Meanwhile Shahjee had put another infant named Ahmed Nizam Shah on the throne of Ahmadnagar and he himself acted as regent. He regained his position greatly, and began to set up good government in the country. The Emperor Shah Jehan felt that Bijapur must be subdued to restore settled conditions in the newly acquired territories. He sent an ambassador to Mahomed Adil Shah demanding the restitution of the forts belonging the Nizam Shahi kings, their guns and stores, and insisting upon the abandonment of Shahjee. The fort of Sholapur with five and half districts was held out as reward. The refusal was threatened with annihilation. The overtures proved ineffective. So vigorous war continued till 1636. The territory of the Bijapur king was overrun by the Moghuls. Ruin spread over the country and at last both sides, weary of war, came to terms. Bijapur got a large portion of the Ahmadnagar kingdom, including the whole of the territory lying between the Bhima and the Neera up to Chakan on the condition of payment of an annual tribute of 20 lakhs of pagodas. By an article of

the treaty Shahjee was promised pardon provided he surrendered the forts in his possession. At first Shahjee held out for some time. But without the support of the king of Bijapur he could not stand long against the Moghul arms. When most of his forts were reduced he applied for pardon, and for service under the emperor. Shah Jehan granted the prayer for pardon and told Shahjee to seek service in Bijapur. Since then Shahjee remained in the service of the Adil Shahs till death. The reduction of Ahmadnagar was now complete, and Bijapur and Golconda remained the only independent Afghan kingdoms in the South. The Maharashtra remained mainly under the king of Bijapur.

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CHAPTER VI.

Early life of Shivaji.

When Shahjee was busy fighting against the Moghuls on behalf of Murtiza Nizam Shah II his wife Jijabai bore him a son on April 10, 1627, in the fort of Shivner close to Junnar. This boy was named Shivaji. Thanks to the British Government the birthplace of Shivaji, who rose to be one of the greatest of Indian kings has now been marked out by a marble tablet. This was the second son of Jijabai, her first son, Sambhujee was born four years earlier. The childhood of Shivaji passed through various hardships. Shortly after his birth Shahjee had to go over to the Moghuls. But the disgrace which was meted out to him by depriving him of some districts granted by Shah Jehan made him forsake the Moghul service. Since 1631 his entire energy was devoted to crush the imperial power. He created a number of enemies in the Moghul Court. He alienated the sympathy of his mother-in-law by contracting a second marriage with Tukabai, a girl of the Mohite family (1630). After this new marriage Jijabai went to her relations. When Daulatabad was besieged by Mahabat Khan in 1633 Jijabai was taken a prisoner. But she managed to keep Shivaji concealed. With the good offices of her relations who were in the Moghul Court she was released and brought to the fort of Kondane. In 1636 when Shahjee went with Morar Pant to Bijapur, Jijabai accompanied her

husband and remained there till the celebration of Shivaji's marriage with Saibai. Shahjee was sent to the Carnatic by the King of Bijapur shortly afterwards. So Jijabai and Shivajee were sent to Poona under the guardianship of Dadaji Kondadev.

At Poona Shivaji received his training under Dadaji, and his future career was greatly influenced by the environment in which he was brought up. Poona was then a small village near the confluence of the Muta and the Mula. The country about was a barren wilderness. The late wars had devastated the entire Deccan. People were feeling insecure with respect to life and property. Young children and women were often carried away by Mahomedans, and made converts. The jaghirs of Shahjee were deliberately destroyed by the enemy and the inhabitants had either fled or perished. Dadaji was an able manager, and applied himself to improve the condition of Poona and Supa. Land was given rent free to the cultivators and the wild beasts were hunted out of the fields by giving rewards to huntsmen. Bands of hillmen were armed to ward off robbers. Within a few years he succeeded in effecting considerable progress. Two more talukas, Baramati and Indapur, which were granted to Shahjee by the Bijapur Government, were also handed over to Dadaji for management. The fertile soil of the tract under his able management shortly began to reward his labours. Harvest was abundant, and with the surplus revenue

thus earned he planted mango trees, and founded a village, which he named after Shivaji, Shivapur.

The guardian of the young Maratha was honest, pious and intelligent. He brought a number of boys of the age of Shivaji, to play with him and to learn military art. The best known of these companions were Tanaji Malusare, a petty baron of Umrathe village in the Konkan, Baji Phasalkar, the deshmukh of the valley of Mun, and Yesaji Kank, a small landholder in the Sahyadris. Paid instructors were appointed to give them lessons in warlike exercises. The teaching of these instructors was supplemented by Dadaji by relating stories of his own experience. Besides these exercises the young men travelled through hills and forests and thus gained first hand knowledge of the Maval, of the passes to the Konkan, and of the obscure regions on the Sahyadri. The knowledge Shivaji acquired in the course of these wanderings was very useful to him in future. In addition to this training Dadaji pitched his life to a high religious fervour by giving sound religious instructions. The teachings of Dnyanadev and the saints of Pandharpur were expounded to him, and the stories from Ramayana and Mahabharata were related on winter evenings. The heroism of the Kshatriya warriors, their skill and bravery in war, the statesmanship of Bhishma, and other elevating anecdotes made a deep impression on the young Shivaji. It is no wonder

therefore that one of the most important characteristics of his life was the note of deep religious fervour. In almost all his activities he conducted himself in such a manner as if he received a call from within, and he would not undertake anything unless he was supported by divine authority. Mr. Kincaid gives a fine description of the surroundings which moulded his character, and the passage is quoted below in full :

“ The scenery round Poona is of the most inspiring kind. To the west are the tremendous barrier ranges of the Sahyadris. Only twelve miles to the south stands out the colossal fortress of Sinhagad. To the south-west may be dimly seen the peaks of Rajgad and Torna. which, when outlined against the setting sun, arouse even to-day emotion in the phlegmatic Englishman. But thirteen miles to the north of Poona lies Alandi, the spot where Dnyanadev entered his living tomb and to which, now as, in Shivaji's time, thousands of pilgrims bearing yellow flags make their way from Pandharpur. But there was yet another influence more powerful than either Dadaji Kondadev's teachings or the grandeur of the landscape. Jijabai, fatherless, deserted by her husband, and her eldest son found a solace for her grief in Shivaji, the one possession left her. She lavished on her son all and more than all a mother's love. At the same time she bade him never forget that he was descended both from the Yadavas of Devagiri,

and the Ranas of Udaipur. She recited to him the Puranas with their marvellous feats of war and daring. But she wished to see him pious as well as brave. She made him pray constantly at the little village shrine which still may be seen at Poona not far from the site of Jijabai's home. There too she welcomed Kathekaris or religious preachers to translate and expound to him, better than even Dadaji could do, the various virtues and merits of Krishna. Thus grew Etruria strong; and Shivaji at eighteen was a man, tireless, fearless and deeply devout."

Thus in an inspiring atmosphere under the influence of his guardian Dadaji, and his high souled mother Jijabai, Shivaji formed an ideal for himself. He undertook the task of liberating the Maratha race from foreign yoke, and of establishing a *Swarajya* for them. He did not want preferment for himself in court, which he could easily get through his father or relatives. He did not desire to renounce the world either, as other religious people would do. But he chose a perilous course with full knowledge of the dangers ahead. Although young companions encouraged him, and his old tutor blessed him in his mission, he was not sure of the support of the great Maratha chiefs. As a matter of fact he had to fight against many of them. Yet in spite of all these difficulties, without fear or hesitation he plunged himself into the noble task of nation-building. The teachings of the *Bhagavatgita* must have

prepared his mind to undergo the severe hardships of the great work. Exhortations of Srikrishna to Arjuna in the field of Kurukshetra could not but have appealed to Shivaji's mind,

CHAPTER VII.

Rebuilding a Mahratta State.

Torna and other hill-forts—The young Shivaji was quick in finding the opportunities which were before him in forming a strong Mahratta State. In his boyhood he talked to his friends of becoming an independent polygar. But he did not receive any encouragement from Dadaji in his designs. Dadaji gave Shivaji a large share in the management of the jaghir, and thus trained him up in statecraft. In the course of his business Shivaji met a number of respectable Mahrattas, who were drawn towards him by his conciliatory deportment. His intimate adherents at the time were Tanaji Mulasare, Baji Phasalkar, and Yesaji Konk. The hill men of the Maval were his most faithful adherents. The Mavalis were clownish and stupid in appearance, but they were very active and intelligent and remarkably faithful in situations of trust. They were very poor and spent their life in the most abject condition in the valleys of Maval. Dadaji improved their condition by making concessions in their favour, and by admitting a number of them into his service. Shivaji was very attentive to these people, and they generally accompanied him on his excursions. With their help he became familiar with the paths and defiles of the hilly country round about Poona, and the survey that

he made of the situation in the Mahratta country suggested to him the possibility of attaining independence.

He found the hill-forts neglected, and unfortified. Most of these forts were entrusted to Mahratta jaghirdars or deshmukhs. Scarcely any of them was garrisoned by Mahomedans as they were considered unhealthy specially in the rains. Shivaji intended to occupy some of these forts, and thus to prepare himself for his further projects. The forts within his jaghir were not in charge of Dadaji. The fort of Kondane had a Mahomedan killidar and Purandhar was under a Brahman named Nilkant Rao. Twenty miles south west of Poona was the hill-fort of Torna. The fort was situated at the source of the Neera, and it could not be easily approached. Shivaji won over the killidar of Torna, and got possession of the fort in 1646 A. D. In order to stop opposition from Bijapur he sent his agents to represent before the Court that the transfer of the management of the fort would be to the benefit of the king and would bring him more revenue than he could get from the Deshmukhs. Meanwhile he began to repair the fort and got a large treasure in digging up a part of the ruins. With this money he got arms and ammunitions, and built another fort three miles south-east of Torna. To this fort he gave the name of Rajgad.

The activities of Shivaji roused suspicion at court and he was forbidden to build the forts. His father,

Shahjee was also warned and asked to keep the activities of his son under check. Shahjee represented to the king that his son was not inimical to the interests of the state, and that what he was doing was to strengthen its position. On the other hand he asked Dadaji to keep Shivaji under control. Dadaji was then in his sick bed. He tried his best to dissuade Shivaji from his course and impressed upon him the danger of losing all his future prospects by offending the King of Bijapur. But his advice fell on deaf ears. He found that Shivaji was firm and resolute. He had an inward sympathy with his ambitions. It is said that before he died he advised him to prosecute his plans of independence, to protect Brahmans, kine and cultivators and preserve the temples of the Hindus from violation. He exhorted him to follow his fortune and blessed him in the bold and noble undertaking of forming the Mahrattas into a nation. His blessings and exhortations brought upon Shivaji the support of the subordinate jaghirdars and gave as it were a divine sanction to his projects.

After the death of Dadaji Kondadev Shivaji assumed charge of the jaghir of Poona. He evaded all payments to his father, and at last he informed him that the heavy expenditure of the jaghir did not leave any surplus of revenue to be sent to him. He also managed to get the fort of Chakan, and the adjoining villages from Phirangojee Narsulla. Baji Mohite, the

brother of his step-mother, Tuka Bai, proved unyielding. Shivaji surrounded Sopa with a party of Mavalis, and took Mohite and his party prisoners, and sent him away to the Carnatic to join Shahjee. The officers of Baramati and Indapur without dispute submitted to Shivaji. In this way he consolidated his power in Poona and its neighbourhood,

The fort of Kondane was in charge of a Mahomedan Killidar who handed it over to Shivaji on receiving a handsome bribe. The Brahman Killidar of Purandhar had died by this time, and there was a quarrel over succession among his three sons. Shivaji took advantage of this quarrel, surprised the garrison, and made the brothers submit. All the brothers were persuaded to take service under him. The name of Kondane was changed into Shinhagad. The acquisitions of these few years secured Shivaji a strong position in the Deccan. He became master of the tract between Chakan and the Neera without opposition. The King of Bijapur did not consider these places important. He did not take any notice of the activities of Shivaji, while he was busy in adorning his capital with grand mausoleums and fine buildings. The state of affairs in the Carnatic required the attention of the Government. All the able generals were engaged there, and the affairs of the jaghirs in the hilly tracts went altogether neglected. The Moghul

governors to the north were busy in restoring order in that tract. The system of revenue collection introduced in northern India by Todar Mall was also adopted in Ahmadnagar. The districts under Murshid Kuli Khan thus enjoyed peaceful government for 20 years. The permanent settlement brought prosperity to the people. So in every way Shivaji carried on his operations uninterrupted. The Moghul rulers had no occasion to interfere and the King of Bijapur was busy otherwise. The circumstances were therefore favourable to the formation of an independent government on the outskirts of the Bijapur Kingdom.

Adventures in the Konkan—The occupation of the four fortresses at Torna, Rajgad, Sinhagad and Purandhar made the southern frontier of Poona safe. Shivaji now cast his looks towards the Konkan. This part of the country was made over to the King of Bijapur by Shah Jehan on the fall of the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Shahjee had overrun the tracts before he surrendered in 1636. There were a number of hillforts in the country, but they were not all well guarded. Shivaji had beforehand sent agents to make a survey of the region, and the accounts he received emboldened him to undertake fresh adventures. He had received news of the despatch from Kalyan of a large amount of money collected by Maulana Ahmad, the Mussalman Governor of the place to Bijapur. Shivaji with a body of 300

horse overtook the party on the way carrying the treasure near Wai down the Bhore Pass. The money thus obtained was conveyed to Raigad. The success of this expedition was followed up by a series of attacks upon the neighbouring forts. Within a short time the whole of the Konkan up to the borders of Savant-wadi fell into his hands. The most important event in these campaigns was the capture of Kalyan by Abaji Sondev, one of the officers trained by Dadaji. The governor of Kalyan, Maulana Ahmad, was brought as a prisoner before Shivaji who received him with respect and allowed him to go to Bijapur. Shivaji also showed his respect for women by not taking the family of the late governor prisoners. Of the forts which fell into the hands of Shivaji's corps the most important were Rairi, Lohgad, and Rajmachi. Rairi became afterwards the capital of Shivaji, under the name of Raigad. Lohgad stands above the Bhore Pass on the way from Bombay to Poona. Rajmachi is at the foot of the pass. The conquest of Kalyan and the other forts in the Konkan did not go unnoticed by the Bijapur Government. They however had not the boldness to take any measures openly against Shivaji. The people were tired of the misrule by the Muhammadans and gladly welcomed a change. As soon as the conquests were made the revenue system of Dadaji was introduced, and the old institutions revived. All endowments to temples or in the interest of Brahmans were restored-

The conqueror had thus the greatest asset of popular sympathy on his side.

Captivity of Shahjee :—The King of Bijapur, feeling his position insecure thought of bringing Shivaji under control through his father. Shahjee was in the Carnatics, and was engaged in the operations against the polygars of that part. He received the grant of a jaghir, and made Bangalore his headquarters. He rendered faithful service to the state and could not possibly be made responsible for the activities of his son. But the King suspected that he had complicity with Shivaji, and sent orders to Baji Ghorpade of Mudhole to bring him a prisoner. Ghorpade was a relative of Shahjee and after inviting him to a dinner seized his person treacherously, and sent him to Bijapur. The King insisted upon Shahjee to dissuade Shivaji from his policy of aggression but Shahjee pleaded in vain that he had nothing to do with his son, and that he could not in any way be made answerable for his son's deeds. He was asked to control the rebellious spirit of his son. The King had written to Shivaji to come to Bijapur. But he agreed to come provided all his conquests were conferred upon him in fief. The King had declined his offer, and tried to bring him round by putting pressure on his father. The Mussalman officers of Muhammad Adil Shah were jealous of Shahjee's powers, and gave the King such advice as would bring this faithful

servant into disgrace. Shahjee was put into a dungeon and was threatened to be walled up unless he had confessed his guilt. He however pleaded his innocence to the last. The wall was built up to his chin, and was to be closed up if Shivaji did not come to Bijapur within a certain period. Shahjee wrote about the situation to his son. Shivaji was thus involved in great difficulty. His surrender into the hands of the King would bring death upon himself, and if he did not surrender his father would be killed. In this dilemma at the advice of his wife, Saibai, he appealed to the Moghul Emperor. Shivaji offered his services to the Emperor, and prayed for intercession in favour of his father. Shah Jehan was anxious to find an opportunity to pick up a quarrel with the King of Bijapur in order that he might get the territories of the old Ahmadnagar Kingdom, which were given away to Bijapur in 1636. He therefore readily granted Shivaji's prayer, excused Shahjee for his previous conduct, and conferred upon Shivaji a Munsub of 5,000 horse. The King of Bijapur could not put Shahjee to death for fear of the Emperor, and at the request of Murar Punt relieved him from the dungeon, but did not allow him to leave Bijapur for four years. During these years the King could not do any harm to Shivaji as he dreaded the Emperor, and Shivaji did not carry in his depredations for the sake of his father. At last the affairs in the Carnatic required the services of

Shahjee. His son Shambhujee had been killed by the Killidar of Kanikgiri, and also his chief officer Naro Pant had died. Before he was allowed to proceed to the Carnatic he was made to promise that he would not molest Ghorpade. Although Shahjee kept this promise he wrote to Shivaji to avenge the treachery. Shivaji remembered the wishes of his father, and carried them out when opportunity came. The letter which Shahjee wrote to Shivaji ran as follows. "Be careful to complete the work which you have undertaken. By the grace of the most High may the wives of your enemies ever breathe in their own warm tears. May God crown your hopes with success and insure your prosperity. You will not fail to be courteous always to Eaji Ghorpade, for you know the great obligations under which he has placed me.' The letter not only enjoined upon Shivaji the punishment of Ghorpade but it also approved of the great work of nation-building he had undertaken.

Jaoli Invested (1655 A. D.)—After the return of Shahjee to the Carnatics Shivaji resumed his operations. First of all he dealt with Balaji More of Jaoli. Balaji was a faithful vassal of the King of Bijapur. His ancestor, Parsoji Bajirao, received Mahableshwar as a jaghir from Yusuf Adil Shah for his services in connection with the suppression of the Shirkes. He was also conferred the title of Chandra Rao

which his descendants enjoyed afterwards along with the jaghir. His son, Yeshwant Rao earned the hereditary title of Raja by capturing the green standard of Ahmadnagar. The chief town of the Mores was Joali in the valley of the Koyna river near Mahableshtar. The plateau down Mahableshtar was known in the days of Shivaji as the Nahar forest. The place is considered sacred as it is believed that it is the source of the five important rivers, the Krishna, the Yenna, and the Koyna, which flow eastward, and the Gayatri and the Savitri flowing westward into the Arabian sea. The Yadava king Singhana built a temple to the god Shiva at the source of these five rivers in 1215, and the place has since then been called Mahableshtar after the presiding deity. The place was considered holy and a large number of pilgrims used to visit the temple. Jijabai once went there with Shivaji, and attracted by the beauty of the three daughters of Balaji More asked for one of them to be married to Shivaji. The offer however was declined as the Mores considered themselves of superior social position. When Shivaji was engaged in his work of uniting the Mahratta State he invited the co-operation of Balaji More. Once again Shivaji was disappointed. It is also believed that Balaji allowed Baji Shamraj to use his estate as the base of operations against Shivaji, when he was appointed by Muhammad Adil Shah to kill Shivaji secretly. The Mahratta leader got the information of

this conspiracy before and overpowered Shamraj near Mahad, and drove his party into Jaoli. The first business therefore of Shivaji after the release of Shahjee was to secure himself against this danger from Jaoli.

Shivaji had no intention of entering into hostility against Balaji More. He therefore tried all means to win him over. He visited Jaoli personally and appealed to the religious and patriotic sentiment of the Raja. But Balaji remained stubborn, and it is believed he tried to hand over Shivaji to the King of Bijapur, but the latter managed to escape. When however he found all friendly offers were refused he sent two envoys, Ragho Ballal Atie and Sambhaji Kavaji with an ultimatum asking him to join Shivaji at once and demanding the hands of his daughter. This time Balaji did not refuse the offer, but evaded a definite answer. Meanwhile Shivaji had occupied Mahableshtar. This afforded the occasion of an altercation of high words between Balaji and the envoys of Shivaji. In the course of this altercation Balaji More and his brother were killed, and the envoys managed to escape to Shivaji through the jungles. Although Shivaji had not authorised the envoys to take this extreme step he could not give them over. He now turned upon Jaoli. He was joined by Balaji's brothers who were deprived of their villages by the late Raja. The sons of Balaji and his minister Hanmantrao offered stout resistance. But

they could not stand against the disciplined army of Shivaji. The minister was killed in action, and the sons were taken prisoners. The troops of Jaoli were admitted into the service of Shivaji and within a short time the entire jahgir with the strong fort of Wasota was brought under his control. Shivaji found in Jaoli a large treasure, with which he improved the temple at Mahableshwar, and built the fort of Pratapgad. There is a story that he built the temple of Bhawani at Pratapgad at the express desire of the goddess to live near Mahableshwar, and the fortress was built round the temple under the supervision of Moro Pingle. The fort was built at the height of 1000 feet from the Koyna valley. It occupies a very important position as it commands the Mahad Ghat which is the only pass between the Konkan and the Koyna valley, and the occupation of this place connected Shivaji's old possessions with the territory newly conquered.

Relations with the Moghuls:—The Moghuls were carrying on the administration of the districts in their possession in the Deccan peacefully. Shivaji had never interfered with them, and we have already seen that he sought the help of the Moghul Emperor against the King of Bijapur. Prince Aurangzeb was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan in 1650. He found an opportunity of declaring war against Golconda in 1655. Mir Jumlah, the prime minister of Abdulla Kutb Shah had a

difference with his master on account of his dissolute son, Muhammad Amin. He applied to the Emperor for help, and this application was supported by Aurangzeb. Sultan Muhammad, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, was sent against Abdulla. Hyderabad was attacked, and the city plundered. The King was forced to release Muhammad Amin to restore Mir Jumlah's property, to give his daughter in marriage to Sultan Muhammad, and to pay up the arrears of tribute at the rate of one crore a year, which was reduced by twenty lakhs by the Emperor. Mir Jumlah went to Delhi and was appointed to the rank of Vizier. This crafty Persian urged the Emperor to invade Bijapur and Golcondah, in order that these provinces might be annexed to the empire.

They were not long in finding out a pretext to declare hostilities against Bijapur. Muhammad Adil Shah died on the 4th November, 1656. His son, Ali Adil Shah II succeeded to the throne of his father at the age of nineteen. The late king had friendly relations with Dara Sukoh, which Aurangzeb did not like and was therefore anxious to put him into trouble. On his death Ali Adil Shah did not pay any homage to the Moghul Emperor, or did not pay any compliments. Out of spite the Moghuls circulated a rumour that Ali Adil Shah was not the son of the late king, and that the Emperor should nominate a successor. War was

therefore declared against Ali Adil Shah. "This War, on the part of the Moghuls," says Grant Duff "appears to have been made completely destitute of apology than is commonly found, even in the unprincipled transactions of Asiatic Governments." Mir Jumlah was appointed at the head of the army and Aurangzeb was put second in command. The Moghul army marched upon Bijapur in March, 1657. Kalyani, Bidar and Gulburga fell in quick succession, and Bijapur was besieged. The siege was pressed with great vigour when Aurangzeb received news of the serious illness of his father in September. Shivaji became an ally of Aurangzeb in the expedition against Bijapur. Aurangzeb had recognized his claims to his new conquests and sought his co-operation in the war against Bijapur. But Shivaji although anxious to see the powers of Bijapur crushed did not look with favour upon the advance of the Moghuls in the Deccan. He therefore did not take any active part in the expedition. On the other hand when Aurangzeb was engaged in Bijapur he attacked Junnar and Ahmadnagar most probably to weaken the pressure upon Bijapur. This however did not affect the vigour of the investment. Shivaji soon found that further hostility against the Moghuls might bring disasters upon him. So he wrote to Aurangzeb asking his forgiveness for the ravages upon the Moghul cities. Aurangzeb was preparing for the coming struggle for the throne. He therefore readily agreed to his request provided he

remained faithful to him afterwards, and also promised to recognise his claims to further conquests in the territory of the Adil Shahs. Shivaji's position thus became very strong when the Moghul princes were fighting for succession. With the help of the Moghuls he thought he could defy the King of Bijapur.

Discomfiture at Janjira (1659 A. D.) :—The withdrawal of Aurangzeb from the Deccan left Shivaji free to promote his plans of conquest. He strengthened his army by admitting 700 Pathan infantry discharged by the Bijapur Government. Henceforth his army was not merely a body of hill men and inexperienced Marathas, but it consisted of trained soldiers. The Bijapur Government, on the other hand, was rent into factions. The quarrels between the foreign and the Deccani nobles became gradually bitter. The Abyssinian minister, Khan Muhammad was treacherously murdered, and there was no able man to guide the affairs of the state. Shivaji therefore availed himself of this opportunity in spreading his conquests in the Deccan. His first objective was to reduce the island fortress of Janjira. Malik Amber built a naval base twenty miles west of Rajgad to protect the commerce with the Persian gulf. The officers in command of the navy were mainly Abyssinians, who assumed the title of Sayad. The Mahrattas called these men Sidis. After the fall of the Ahmadnagar Kingdom the island passed into the hands of the

Bijapur Government with the Abyssinian sailors. At the time of Shivaji Fateh Khan, an Afghan officer of the Bijapur Government, was the governor of the place. Shivaji had taken the forts of Rairi and Sala Gossala from his subordinates, at the very beginning of his adventures in 1646. Since then Fateh Khan became watchful, and was thoroughly prepared to meet the Mahratta invasion. The command of the expeditionary force was entrusted to the Peshwa Shamraj Nilkant Ranjekar. The Peshwa was not an able general, and Fateh Khan defeated his army and pushed him back. The disaster to the Mahrattas was great, and Shivaji made every effort to recover his position. He sent Raghu Ballal Atre to supersede Shamraj in the command, and appointed Moro Pingle as his Peshwa. With the help of his new Peshwa and Netoji Palkar he began to make gigantic preparations against Fateh Khan. At this time the Savants of Savantwadi in the Southern Konkan entered into an alliance with him. But soon afterwards they went over to the King of Bijapur and broke off the alliance with Shivaji. The plans of Shivaji had to be changed by an altogether unexpected turn of events in Bijapur.

Afzul Khan's Mission :—Ali Adil Shah received the news of the repulse of Peshwa Shamraj at Janjira with joy. The defeat of the Mahrattas inspired hope in his mind. He called his nobles to a meeting and

asked them as to who could destroy Shivaji and the Mahratta rebels. The first man to volunteer was Afzul Khan. He was a relative of the King, being the son of his maternal uncle who was the Superintendent of the kitchen. This Afzul Khan was in the Carnatic and had instigated Mustafa Khan to rise against Shambhujee when Shahjee was under restraint at Bijapur. He was fully acquainted with the country round about Jaoli, as he was once Governor of Wai. He was the ablest of the generals of Ali Adil Shah, and undertook in the Durbar to capture the "Mountain rat" dead or alive. A huge army consisting of 12,000 horse was placed under him, and he was supplied with sufficient stores and ammunition. He started from Bijapur in 1659 and proceeded north towards Tuljapur, the shrine of Bhawani, sacred to the Bhonsle family. He desecrated the temple although he could not find the image which had been removed by the priests beforehand. Shivaji had meanwhile taken up his position at the strong fort of Jaoli, where he could oppose the Bijapur army effectively. Afzul Khan getting this information turned southwest, and crossed the Bhima at Pandharpur. There he desecrated the temples and threw the image of Vithoba into the water. The vandalism of Afzul Khan wounded the feelings of the Mahrattas and he could not expect any sympathy from them. From Pandharpur he marched to Wai through Rahimatpur.

He sent his Dewan Krishnaji Bhaskar to Shivaji, and offered to use his influence to obtain forgiveness for him from the Bijapur Government, and to confirm him in all the lands he had acquired. He invited him to come to Wai and to discuss the terms of settlement. Shivaji expressed his willingness to meet Afzul Khan, but he said he was afraid of going to Wai. He was prepared to make the necessary arrangements for the reception of the Bijapur General at Jaoli. In the course of a secret interview with Krishnaji at night Shivaji learnt that Afzul intended treachery and that he had no intention of doing him any service at the Court of Bijapur. Shivaji was henceforth on his guard, and sent Pantoji Gopinath to Afzul Khan to formally invite him to Pratapgad. He made every preparation for the reception of the General, cut through the forest a wide road, and kept provisions all along the road for the army as well as the General. At a distance from the road he posted his troops behind the trees so that they might not be seen by the Bijapur soldiers. Krishnaji Bhaskar persuaded Afzul Khan to accept the invitation. After a fortnight the General started for Jaoli. He was fully confident of his strength and believed that he would be able to crush Shivaji at any place. He reached the Koyna Valley after some days and encamped at Par at the foot of Pratapgad. It was then arranged that

he interview should take place the next evening at a place quarter of a mile off from the fort walls.

Shivaji was now in the midst of a crisis. If he were captured by Afzul Khan his ambition of building a Mahratta State would be frustrated. He therefore took counsel with Tanaji Malusare, and Moro Pingle, and Netoji Palkar. The troops were ordered to be so posted as to prevent the retreat of the Bijapur army if treachery were attempted by Afzul Khan. He appointed his son Sambhujee his heir, and Netoji as his regent in case he were killed. Last of all he saw his mother, and received her blessings. Then he prepared himself for the supreme moment in his life. He was fully equipped with a coat of chain armour and a steel cap. He concealed these things under a gold-embroidered coat, and a cloth turban. On the fingers of his left hand he fixed the steel points known as *Waghnaakh* or tiger's claws, and in his right sleeve he concealed a crooked dagger known as *Bichhava* or scorpion. Thus equipped he came down to meet Afzul Khan accompanied by three attendants.

Afzul Khan had reached the appointed place before him. At the advice of Krisnanaji Bhaskar he left his soldiers behind him, and kept only three men with him, as Shivaji had done. The escort was reduced to two, at the request of Shivaji, he in his turn leaving one behind. The meeting of the two has been variously,

described. The Muhamadan writers describe Shivaji attacking Afzul Khan with *Waghnaikh* while going to embrace each other. But the other version is that when Shivaji approached Afzul Khan the latter addressed him in insulting language, and asked how a common peasant like him could make such a display of wealth in the Shamiana. Shivaji retorted him in a similar language and said that such a display befitted him and not the son of a cook. This was too much for Afzul Khan. He caught Shivaji on the neck under his left arm, and thrust his head under the armpit. Bringing him then under his control he tried to stab him in the stomach, but the coat of chain armour turned the point of the sword. Shivaji was on the point of fainting when he thought of his divine mission. When the Khan raised his right hand for a second blow Shivaji turned his left arm round his waist and thrust the *Waghnaikh* into his stomach. The Khan unloosed his hold upon Shivaji in bitter pain, when the latter pierced him in the back with the dagger. Afzul Khan then gave him a severe blow on the head, which cut through the turban and the steel cap, and touched the scalp. Shivaji snatched a sword from one of his attendants and struck Afzul Khan on the right shoulder. The Khan could not resist any further and called for help. His attendants rushed in, and tried to carry him away in a palanquin. But they were overpowered.

by the Mahrattas. Afzul Khan's *shati* was cut off and the signal was given to the troops to approach. The Bijapur army was annihilated, and only a few escaped. But the lives of those who surrendered were spared. It is said that a cavalry of 300 including Fazal Muhammad, Afzul Khan's son, managed to escape. The spoils of this battle were rich, and the Mahratta army was greatly strengthened by the prisoners of war, who were permitted to enlist in the army.

The historians who derive their information from the Muhammadan writers accuse Shivaji of treachery. Even Mr. Ranade has tried to find an excuse for Shivaji in committing such an act. But it seems the other version is not less reliable. Shivaji might have the intention of doing away with his greatest foe, but if the first blow was given by Afzul Khan, then the charge against Shivaji cannot be maintained. The Hindu chroniclers agree in holding that Afzul Khan took up the offensive, and the story of Shivaji relating the incident to Ramdas as described by his pupil, Hanmant confirms the theory.

The murder of Afzul Khan and the rout of the Bijapur army created a consternation at Bijapur. The Mahrattas were jubilant, and sang the praise of Shivaji. Jijabai blessed her son and thanked him for avenging the death of his brother, Sambhujee. The head of the dead general was buried

on the top of the hill still known as Afzul Buruj or tower of Afzul Khan. His sword was kept by Shivaji as a trophy and it has been handed to his descendants down to the present day. It was in the treasury of the Raja of Satara for many years.

Winter Campaign of 1659-60 :—Shivaji kept up his success by invading several forts in the south as well as in the north. His army was now increased by the men who had left the Bijapur service, and he tried to maintain the morale of the army by constant adventures. He wanted to carry the operations into the heart of the Bijapur Kingdom and to march upon the capital. The King had sent another army under the command of Rustam Khan. A battle was fought near Panhala, in which Rustam was completely defeated. The officer in charge of the fort had already surrendered Panhala into the hands of Annaji Datto. The forts of Pavangad and Wasantgad fell afterwards. Rangna and Khelna were taken by assault. The name of the latter place was changed into Vishalgad, which name it still retains. After the defeat of Rustam Khan Shivaji carried on his depredations up to the gates of Bijapur. In plundered towns he levied contributions and struck terror in the hearts of the people, and with his plunder he returned to Vishalgad with such a rapidity that any attempt at pursuit became impossible. In

January, 1660, he marched directly upon Rajapur on the coast and levied there a rich contribution. From there he went to Dabhol, captured the city and its dependencies, and returned to Rajgad with considerable booty.

Ali Adil Shah's Supreme Effort .—The defeat of the Bijapur Government at so many places created a consternation in the capital. The old factions were laid aside to deal with such a formidable foe. The king contemplated taking the field in person. Ultimately Sidi Johar of Kornoul, who had distinguished himself in several engagements in the Carnatic was selected by common consent. Fazai Muhammad, Afzul Khan's son, was put second in command. Sidi Johar was directed to recover Panhala. Fateh Khan of Janjira was ordered to begin his operations in the Konkan at the same time as Sidi Johar would march upon Panhala. The Savants of Savantwadi, who had by this time broken off their alliance with Shivaji, were asked to harass him on his southwestern frontier.

Shivaji was thus attacked on three sides, and on his part made adequate arrangements for defence. Ragho Ballal was sent against Fateh Khan. Abaji Sondev defended the districts of Kalyan Bheemree. Baji Phasalkar, the commander-in-chief of the infantry marched against the Savants. Moro Pingle was put in charge of Purandhar Sinhagad, Pratapgad and

the adjoining countries. Shivaji considering Panhala a place of importance resolved to defend it himself, and ordered Netoji Palkar to ravage the surrounding country and to harass the troops of Sidi Johar, when they approached the fort. Shivaji made no attempt to prevent the siege of the fort. But when Sidi Johar had invested Parhala the Mavalis under Netoji used to come out of the ravines, and attack the besiegers when they were off their guard. In this way heavy losses were inflicted. But Sidi Johar had a large army under him, and vigorously pressed the siege for four months till September, 1660. Meanwhile Fateh Khan had gained some advantage over Ragho Ballal, and Baji Phasalkar although had an even fight with Savant Kaya, both the commanders died in action. Shivaji expected that Sidi Johar would retire during the rains, but he found that the Abyssinian generals remained strong and stubborn. His provisions were exhausted, and he was placed in a critical position.

When Shivaji was in the midst of a grave disaster he sent a messenger to Sidi asking for an interview in order to settle the terms of surrender. Sidi Johar granted the request, and an interview took place between the two leaders. The terms of surrender were almost settled excepting on a few minor points. They retired to their respective camps at night to resume the conference in the morning.

There was cessation of hostilities and the troops slept in peace. Shivaji thought over the situation and by midnight left Panhala with a body of chosen troops. In silence they passed through the enemy and marched through the thick forests towards Vishalgad. The enemy got the information of the flight early in the morning, and Fazal Muhammad went in pursuit. He was about to overtake the party at about six miles from Vishalgad, when Shivaji left Baji Deshpandye with a small party, to oppose his advance, and he marched towards Vishalgad. He told Baji Deshpandye that when he had reached Vishalgad he would fire guns as a signal, and then he might retire as best as he could. Baji Deshpandye waited for the enemy at a place called Pandhar Pani. The place was precipitous, and it was a difficult task for the Mussalman soldiers to dislodge Baji from this superior position. Attack after attack failed. At last Fazal Muhammad led the attack up the slope in person. The Gallant Baji Deshpandye could not resist any more. He fell covered over with wounds. But while he fell wounded he heard of the boom of guns from Vishalgad and died with the consciousness of the satisfaction that he had done his duty. The body of this brave soldier was carried by his men safely to Vishalgad. The flight of Shivaji put Sidi Johar's plan into confusion. The general encamped for a few days at a village called Gajapuri near Vishalgad for a few days.

Then he besieged the fort. But on the western side it could not be invested as it was a precipice of 2,000 feet on that side, and Shivaji could easily get his provisions from the Kankan. The attempt to blow up the fort on the eastern side failed, as Shivaji destroyed the Bijapur sappers by countermining. Ali Adil Shah got furious at the second failure, and was induced to believe that Sidi Johan had been bribed by Shivaji. He then took the field in person (January, 1661). Panhala, Pavangad, and other neighbouring forts fell into his hands in quick succession. Only Rangra and Vishalgad remained in the hands of Shivaji. On the approach of the rains the King withdrew to Chinulgi on the Krishna. Within a few months Ali Adil Shah retrieved the losses of the Bijapur Kingdom to some extent, and expected to continue his operations after the rains.

Shivaji's Campaigns in the Konkan :— Shivaji did not offer any resistance to Ali Adil Shah. He was busy in the Northern Konkan. He besieged Danda Rajapuri, a town where a number of English factors lived. He expected a large sum of money from the place, and wanted to punish the English factors who were suspected of supplying arms and ammunition to Fateh Khan of Janjira. Several of the factors were taken prisoners, and they had to be released after paying a heavy ransom.

After the reduction of Rajapuri he captured Siingarpur. The Mahratta polygar of the place, called Dalvi, was killed in action, and the jaghir was annexed. The Mahrattas of this state did not look with favour upon this conquest, and Shivaji had great difficulty in persuading the subjects of the late polygar to live under his Government. It is said that Shivaji became more religious from this time. He accepted the Saint Ramdass as his spiritual guide and removed the temple of Bhavani from Tuljapur to Pratapgad. And henceforth he resolved to live a pure and holy life.

Fateh Khan still remained unsubdued. Shivaji now laid siege to Janjira in person. But he did not possess an efficient navy and long range artillery to reduce the island. Frustrated in his attempt he built a naval base off Malwan, and gave it the name of Sindhu Durg. He also rebuilt and strengthened the strongholds at Suvaundurg, Ratnagiri, Jaygad, Anjanvel, Vijaydurg and Colaba, and prepared vessels in all these places.

Fall of Baji Ghorpade of Mudhol :— The news from Bijapur called Shivaji away from his operations in the Deccan. Sidi Johar felt the disgrace of supersession and went to his own jaghir. There were fresh troubles in the Carnatic and the King could not make up his mind as to the policy he should pursue. At this critical moment the Savant of Savantwadi

offered to attack Shivaji provided they were supported by Baji Ghorpade of Mudhol and the Bijapur army. The King accepted the proposal, and sent Bahlol Khan with a strong contingent. The King went to suppress the rising in the Carnatic. On receiving news of this plan Shivaji at once marched to Vishalgad, which lay between Savantwadi and Mudhol. He received information from his father that Baji Ghorpade was at Mudhol with a small force. Shivaji went to Mudhol without delay. He took the place by surprise. Baji Ghorpade and his sons were all killed in action. The King sent Khawas Khan to support Bahlol Khan. But the new army was intercepted on the way and sent back to Bijapur. Mudhol was sacked and plundered, and all the riches carried away by Shivaji's troops.

Reduction of the Savants (1662 A.D.) :—Sidi Johar now found his position precarious. He was afraid of going back to Adil Shah. At first he went to his estate. He then joined in an intrigue with the Hindu rebels of the Doab. He was appointed in command of an army sent to suppress the rebellion. But he helped the rebels to correspond with Shivaji. He was at last assassinated by his own soldiers. Raichur and Torgal then threw off their allegiance to the king. The army under Bahlol Khan and Khawas Khan were recalled to suppress the rising in the south. The Savants were thus left to themselves. They were now

attacked by Shivaji, and unable to stand against him fled to Goa. But the Portuguese of that place when threatened by Shivaji had to surrender the Savant chiefs. They were thus reduced to a helpless condition, and threw themselves upon the mercy of Shivaji. Their offer was accepted and Shivaji restored to them their Deshmukhi rights on condition of faithful service. The fort of Phonda was taken by Shivaji, and the Savant troops were employed outside their own country. He also forced the Portuguese to supply him with muskets, ammunition and cannon for giving protection to the Savants.

Peace with Bijapur (1662).—The King of Bijapur began to realise that it was of no avail to continue the policy of hostility against the Mahrattas. His bitter experience of these few years made him feel the strength of the Mahratta movement. Shivaji was no longer a mere free booter, but he directed the energies of a nation to attain independence. The King of Bijapur in his pride ignored the Mahratta rising, and now he had to accept the painful truth. All his efforts have failed. His allies have been crushed, and most of them have entered the Mahratta service. His able generals have been killed, and his troops have lost the moral in their continuous defeats. At the suggestion of his minister, Abdul Mubammad, he appointed Shahjee to negotiate terms of settlement.

Shahjee came from his jaghir in the Carnatic, accompanied by his son, Venkoji. He went as an arbitrator between his master and his son, and he discharged his duty in a most satisfactory manner. First of all he visited the shrines at Tuljapur, Shingnapur and Pandharpur, and then he proceeded to meet his son at Jejuri. The meeting of the father and the son after such a long time was full of pathos. Shivaji did not sit before his father and would not ride a horse or a palanquin in his presence. From Jejuri they went to Poona, and there the terms were settled. The demands of Shivaji from the Bijapur government were granted in full, and he took a solemn oath not to attack the latter kingdom in his father's lifetime. He was acknowledged independent ruler of the country between Kalyan in the north and Phonda in the south, and Dabhol in the west and Indapur in the east. The whole territory was in length about 160 miles, and at its greatest breadth between Sopa and Janjira it did not exceed 100 miles.

Shahjee remained with Shivaji for some months, and visited his important forts at Rajgad, Purandhar, Lohgad and Rairi. It is believed that the impregnable position of Rairi suggested to Shahjee to make it the capital of the Mahratta State. The suggestion was accepted by Shivaji, and Abaji Sondex was appointed to fortify the place. Every effort was made to render it impregnable

The name of the place was changed into Raygad.

The scattered forces of Maharashtra were now united after strenuous efforts for 16 years. Shivaji began his plan in 1646, and in 1662 his independence was recognised by his quondam king. It was a proud privilege of Shahjee to see his son liberating his race from the thralldom of foreign rulers, and restoring Maharashtra to her ancient glory. It was also a matter of satisfaction to him that he had not to struggle between his love for his son, and his loyalty to his master.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Moghul Invasion.

Shaista Khan's Expedition. — The treaty with the king of Bijapur had practically recognised the formation of an independent Mahratta State. The Mahrattas up to the borders of Goa had come under the flag of Shivaji, but in the northern part of the Deccan some districts were still under the Moghul Government of Delhi. At the time when Shivaji was busy in his operations against Bijapur the Moghuls had occupied Kalyan in the Konkan in May 1661. After the treaty he was free to deal with the Moghuls and sent Netoji Palkar and Moro Pingle to plunder the Moghul territories from Ahmadnagar to Aurangabad. Moro Pingle occupied a number of hillforts, and Netoji ravaged the Moghul districts up to the gates of Aurangabad. Aurangzeb got information of these depredations and ordered Shaista Khan, Viceroy of the Deccan, to lead an expeditionary force against the Mahrattas, and to deprive Shivaji of his recently acquired forts and territories.

With a big army *Amir-ul-Umara* Shaista Khan marched towards Poona and Chakan. He left Aurangabad in charge of Mumtaz Khan. Shivaji at that time was at Sopra. But on the approach of the Moghul army he left that place. Shaista Khan occupied it without opposition, and left Jadav Fao of Sindkheid

in charge of the place and asked him to provide supplies for the army. The Mahrattas followed their usual method of harassing the enemy. It was impossible for them however to stand before the Moghul avalanche. Poona and Shivapur fell into the hands of the enemy. Shaista Khan took up his position at Poona.

Defence of Chakan :—From Poona he sent reconnoitring parties round about the country and ordered first the occupation of Chakan in order to keep the road to Junnar clear. Since 1646 Phirangoji Narsula was commandant of that fort. and he offered a stout resistance against the Moghul army. The small garrison held out for fifty-six days. The besieging army was harassed by the cavalry of Netoji Palkar. The heavy rains in the Sahyadris also rendered the charge of the Moghuls ineffective. In spite of all these difficulties the siege was pressed vigorously and on the fifty-sixth day a bastion which had been mined was blown up and "stones, bricks and men flew into the air like pigeons" (Khafi Khan). The Moghuls rushed in but the brave Mahrattas put up a barrier of earth inside the fortress, and maintained their position against heavy odds throughout the day. Unable to resist further Phirangoji capitulated in the morning. Shaista Khan received him with honour, and offered him a post in the Moghul service. But Phirangoji

was too proud to accept these offers. Shaista Khan, in admiration of this gallant soldier, allowed him and the survivors of his garrison to return to Shivaji who rewarded him by appointing him commandant of Bhupalgad. Khafi Khan estimates the Moghul casualties in this engagement at 900, including 300 slain.

Disaster to Shaista Khan.—The difficulty in reducing Chakan impressed upon Shaista Khan the insurmountable character of the hill forts. But the emperor entertained no such idea. He considered the conquest of Maharashtra an easy affair. In order to strengthen the Amir-ul-Umra he sent Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur with a large reinforcement. Shaista Khan after his return from Chakan was in residence in the Raj Mahal, the house built by Dadaji Konddev for Shivaji. He had taken all possible precautions against any surprise by the Mahrattas. Patrols were posted all round Poona. The pass of the Katraj Ghat which leads to Sinhgad was strongly guarded. No one was allowed to enter Poona without a passport. The Maratha horsemen were dismissed, but there were some Marathas in the infantry. This suggested to Shivaji the means of entering Poona. In April, 1663, Shivaji planned to lead an attack upon Poona. A Mahratta foot soldier in the army of the Moghuls obtained permission for a marriage party to pass through Poona. Shivaji with about 200 soldiers joined

this party. A large army was posted outside the city to cover his retreat. He was fully acquainted with the ins and outs of Poona, and the residence of Shaista Khan was his familiar abode since childhood. So he could make the necessary arrangements for a surprise attack. After placing his men in several parts of the city Shivaji, with Tanaji Malusare, Yesaji Kank and about 20 chosen men entered the palace through the kitchen. They killed and strangled the servants in the cook room and entered the women's apartments. But while they were effecting their entrance a maid servant ran to the General and roused him from his sleep. The General however took no notice till Shivaji's party had entered. He freely used his bow and arrows and killed and wounded some of the Marathas. While looking down the window his thumb was cut off. Meanwhile more Marathas had entered the palace. Abdul Fateh Khan, the son of the General, tried to resist the attack and killed two or three men, but he in turn was killed. The general in the meanwhile had escaped to a safe place with the help of some maid-servants. An old nobleman of his party was trying to escape by a rope ladder. The Mahrattas mistook him for the General and cut off his head. Under the impression that their task was over they fled off as quickly as possible. The men at the several places were called

back and when they had reached the Katraj Ghat blazing torches were fastened to the trees to deceive the Moghuls. The imperial troops waited at the foot of the pass to fight, as they thought that the Marathas were encamped on the summit. This afforded Shivaji and his men time to retreat to Sinhgad. Next morning Shaista Khan vainly attempted to take the fort. Shivaji opened fire upon the besieging army which retired in confusion. The Moghuls were harassed on the way by the Mahatta cavalry under Kadtoji Guzar. The disaster threw Shaista Khan off his balance. He accused Jaswant Singh of treachery and wrote to Aurangzeb that this Hindu subordinate was bribed by Shivaji. Then he marched off to Aurangabad leaving Jaswant Singh in charge of Chakan and Junnar. The Emperor was about to leave for Kashmir when he received the letter of Shaista Khan, and recalled both Jaswant Singh and the Amn-ul-Umra from the Deccan. Afterwards he appointed Shaista Khan governor of Bengal, and placed Jaswant Singh second in command in the Deccan under Prince Mauzzim. (July, 1663).

Sack of Surat (January, 1664):—Jaswant Singh made an ineffectual attempt to invest Sinhgad and then the main army retired to Aurangabad. Shivaji was meanwhile planning to attack Surat, one of the richest Moghul towns. This town stands on the

river Tapi in South Guzerat. According to local tradition the town was established by one Gopi, and called after his wife Suraj. It rose into prominence on account of its geographical position. The Portugese sacked the place in 1512. The King of Guzerat built a fort in 1546 to protect it against foreign attacks. Akbar conquered Surat in 1573, and made a treaty with the Portugese, who became the chief merchants of the place. But with the fall of the power of Portugal in Europe the Portugese possessions in India were conquered by the Dutch. The Moghul Emperor gave permission to the Dutch to build a factory in Surat in 1618. The English also obtained permission to build a factory in 1612, and the French got the same privileges in 1642. These foreign merchants made Surat the richest emporium in the Moghul Empire. Shivaji planned to help himself with the riches of Surat. He assembled his army between Bassein and Choul with the apparent object of reducing the Portugese there. But his real intention was to march upon Surat. Meanwhile his spy, Bahirji Naik, brought him all the informations about the city. Shivaji also in disguise of a mendicant explored the roads to South Guzerat. Thus fully prepared he made a rapid march with 4000 horse, and appeared on the outskirts of Surat, on January 5, 1664.

The Moghul Governor asked the help of the Dutch and the English merchants to defend the town.

But they could not render any assistance except defending their own factories. The governor made no efforts to protect the inhabitants who fled in fear into the country or took shelter in river boats. On the other hand he went inside the castle walls with his men. For six days Shivaji sacked the city, and got immense wealth. He could not plunder the factories of the European merchants on account of their strong defence. On receiving news of the approach of a Moghul army the Marhatta chief retired on January 10. The treasure he brought to Raigad as safely as he had started on his expedition.

Death of Shahjee :— On his return from Surat Shivaji received the news of his father's death. Shahjee was sent by the Bijapur Government to suppress the rebellion of some nobles in the Doab along the Tungbhadra. The Chief of Bednore offered stout resistance. Shahjee succeeded in crushing the rebellion. While he was encamped at Basavapatan he went out on black buck hunting. A buck was wounded by his arrow and in following the victim the horse of Shahjee fell by its foreleg being entangled in some creeper. Shahjee fell headlong and broke his neck, and by the time his attendants reached him his life had expired (January, 1664). Venkoji was informed of the accident, and he hastened to the place to perform the funeral rites. The Bijapur

Government in recognition of the services of the dead general confirmed the fief of Bangalore and Tanjore on his son Venkoji. Shivaji on receiving the news of his father's death, was thrown into deep affliction, and some time afterwards went to avenge his death by attacking the Doab nobles, because Shahjee lost his life while engaged in the Doab expedition. He received the village, where his father met with this accident, as a grant from the Bijapur Government, and erected there a memorial temple.

Shahjee died while in service under the Bijapur Government. But his share in the making of the Mahratta history is not to be overlooked on that account. His ability as a soldier and as an administrator was of a high order. He kept the Moghul army at bay for sometime and managed the affairs of the Ahmadnagar Kingdom as a regent. His services to the Bijapur Government were invaluable. He brought order in the affairs of the southern provinces, and when advanced in age his services were requisitioned to suppress the rising in the Doab. The later relations between the Bijapur Government and Shivaji were the direct result of his statesmanship and diplomacy. He had shown that the Mahratta troops could successfully stand against trained Mussalman armies by rapid movements and with local knowledge. His attempt to maintain the integrity of the Ahmadnager

Kingdom failed as he was opposed by the armies of the Moghuls, and the Bijapur Government assumed an attitude of hostility. Shivaji gained by the failure of his father's enterprise and he had no necessity of standing behind the figure of a puppet king to exercise his power and authority. Shahjee had shown what a Mahratta could do and his son outdid him in freeing his nation from the oppression of foreign governments. He heralded a new era for the Mahrattas. The honour of liberating the Mahrattas belongs to Shivaji but the foundation of Mahratta power was laid by his father. Shivaji held the character of his father in very high esteem. In a letter to his brother, Venkoji, some years afterwards, he referred to his father in the following terms : "How did he encounter and surmount all difficulties, perform great actions, escape all dangers by his spirit and resolution and acquire a renown which he maintained to the last." The brave son was proud of his father and kept his example always before his eyes.

Convention of Purandhar 1665 :—On the death of his father Shivaji assumed the title of Raja which was conferred on his grand-father Mallojee by the king of Ahmadnagar, and as a mark of his independent authority he also struck coins in his own name. His fleet which he had built became very busy in plundering the ships from the Moghul ports, and the pilgrims

to Mecca were forced to pay ransom when captured. Interference with the pilgrims drew the attention of the Delhi and the Bijapur Governments. Aurangzeb recalled Jaswant Singh and Prince Muazzim, and appointed in their place Mirza Raja Jay Singh of Amber and Dilere Khan. Meanwhile Shivaji plundered a number of ports on the coast. He also repulsed an attack upon his territory by the Bijapur army near Panhala. He went as far south as Gokarna in his plundering expedition, and returned to his capital after some time. The Moghuls had made full preparations for an offensive in his absence. Aurangzeb had sent Jay Singh and Dilere Khan with instructions to subdue Shivaji and to exact arrears of tribute from Bijapur. The two generals arrived in the Deccan in April, 1665. They began their operations in Purandhar. The fort was invested by Dilere Khan and Jay Singh blockaded Sinhgad. Purandhar was defended by Murar Baji, a Prabhu by caste. The garrison consisted of about 1,000 Mavalis and Hetkaris. Murar Baji maintained his position with great bravery. A large number of Moghul troops were killed by his men. The lower fort was carried by the Moghuls by mining one of the bastions. But the advance of the troops was held by the stout resistance of the Hetkaris and the Mavalis. At last Murar Baji was shot and killed by Dilere Khan. The Mahatta soldiers now retreated into the upper fort

of Rudra Mal, situated on the north-east of Purandhar. Dilere Khan pressed on his attack. Shivaji held a consultation with his principal people on the situation. He also sought the advice of the goddess Bhawani. The goddess told him that he would not succeed against Jay Singh. The commander of his cavalry, Netoji Palkar, also could not render him any assistance as he was at a greater distance. At the same time he was threatened with attacks from Bijapur. In such circumstances he carried on negotiations with Raja Jay Singh for an armistice. He sent Raghunath Pant to Jay Singh with a view to bring about a settlement. The Mirza Raja assured the agent of Shivaji that he would procure pardon from the emperor and would grant him favours when he surrendered. On receiving this assurance Shivaji presented himself before Jay Singh in July, and was received by the general with due honour. He next went to Dilere Khan in Purandhar. The Khan was furious but Shivaji won his sympathies by presenting the keys of the gate with his own hand. The terms of the peace were settled shortly afterwards.

Shivaji was forced to give up the forts and territory he had conquered from the Moghuls. He surrendered all the forts in his possession including Sinhgad and Purandhar except 12 forts and adjoining lands yielding

an income of 5 lakhs of rupees. He promised to be faithful to the Moghul emperor and not to plunder the Imperial dominions. His son, Shambhujee was made a *munsubdar* of 5,000, and he and Netoji Palkar were to attend on the Subedar of the Deccan. Shivaji pledged himself to render any service in the Deccan, which might be asked of him. Shivaji was also promised lands yielding 4 lakhs of *huns* (20 lakhs of rupees) in Thal-Konkan and 5 lakhs of *huns* in Balaghat Bijapuri when these lands would be conquered from the State of Bijapur. In return Shivaji promised to pay 40 lakhs of *huns* to the Emperor in yearly instalments of 3 lakhs. Some writers state on the authority of the Mahratta accounts that Shivaji obtained the right to levy *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* on Bijapur. Prof Jadunath Sarkar denies this claim on the authority of the Persian documents. (*Modern Review*, July 1916). Aurangzeb's letter to Shivaji confirming the terms of settlement contains no reference to the *Chauth*. The letter of Raja Jay Singh to the Emperor also is very clear on the point. The claims were set forth in the petition of Shivaji, and most probably neither the Emperor nor Raja Jay Singh attached any importance to the claims relating to *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi*. The Emperor did not either understand the significance of such a levy or knowing its meaning, did not commit himself to such an arrangement.

The treaty of Purandhar reduced Shivaji to the rank of a vassal chief of the Moghul Empire. The Mahratta leader must have felt greatly mortified at the humiliating terms of the treaty. The ambition of maintaining the integrity of the Mahratta State was frustrated for the time being. His main business now was to follow the Moghul generals in reducing Bijapur. Although such a position was galling to the spirit of Shivaji he accepted the terms in all sincerity. So long he had fought against the Delhi and the Bijapur armies separately. In fighting against the Moghuls he was in alliance with Bijapur, and in his campaigns against Bijapur he was on friendly terms with the Moghuls. Now he had to deal with the enemy from both the fronts. The friendship of the Moghuls with a view to share in the spoils of Bijapur might have influenced his policy at the time.

Shivaji at the Imperial Court :—Raja Jay Singh was now free to attack Bijapur. The Deccan was never completely subjugated by the emperors of Delhi since the withdrawal of Muhammad Tughlak. Akbar conquered upto Khandesh, and Shah Jehan reduced the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Aurangzeb had been in the Deccan before he occupied the throne, and he had a strong desire to reduce the Kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda in order to extend the imperial sway into Southern India and to become the supreme master.

of India. Jay Singh received the help and co-operation of Shivaji in his operations against Bijapur. The latter joined the Moghul army with 2000 horse and 8000 infantry. He reduced Phaltan the fief of the Nimbalkars, and escalated the fort of Thatwada 10 miles to the south-east. He was then sent southwards to engage the Bijapuris in the Konkan, and attack Panhala. The successes of Shivaji in the first operations received recognition from the Emperor. A handsome dress and a jeweled sword were sent to him along with a congratulatory letter. The investment of Panhala however proved a failure, and Shivaji fell back upon his own fort of Veshalwad. Netoji Palkar, the commander of the Mahra ta cavalry, was corrupted by the Bijapuris, and went over to the enemy. Raja Jay Singh and Dilere Khan had already proceeded towards Bijapur. Their march didnot meet with any resistance till they had reached Mangalveda, 60 miles to the north of Bijapur. After a week's siege the place fell, and two Moghul armies after two months' fighting reached 5 Kos distance from the capital of the Adil Shahis. Ali Adil Shah made strenuous exertions at this stage to repel the Moghul attack. He also received substantial help in men from Kutb-ul-Mulk. The Imperial army was harassed, and its supplies cut off. Raja Jay singh then called Shivaji to come to him, and with his help several forts came into the hands of the Imperial forces. Aurangzeb wrote

a second letter inviting him to come to the Court. In that letter he expressed his great regard for him, and assured him of hospitality and leave to return soon. Shivaji consulted his friends and all of them advised him to accept the invitation. Jay Singh guaranteed him safety and sent his son, Ram Singh, to accompany him to the court.

Shivaji made arrangements for the conduct of the business of his kingdom in his absence. Moro Trimal Pingle, Abajee Sondev, and Annajee Dutta formed the Council of Regency. The officers were given full instructions as to how to carry on the business of government. To Jijabai was entrusted the care of his wives and his second son, Raja Ram. His eldest son, Sambhujee, accompanied him to Agra. He also took with him 1000 infantry and 3000 horse. Some of his principal officers, including Raghunath Pant, Kadtoji Guzar, Yesaji Kank and Tanaji Malusare were among his attendants. After a march of some weeks the party reached the vicinity of Agra. Ram Singh was sent to the Emperor to inform of his arrival. Shivaji expected that he would be received by some high officer. But instead an ordinary officer named Mukhlis Khan was sent to conduct him to the court. Shivaji felt humiliated at this treatment, but did not give vent to his feelings at the time. The Emperor was celebrating the anniversary of his accession to the throne and the city was full of

activity. While in the Royal presence Shivaji presented nazar of 5000 *Ashraffs* and 6,000 rupees, 30,000 rupees in all (May 12, 1666). He was directed by royal command to take the position of a *pani-hazari*.

The Mahratta chief considered this as a deliberate insult, as his son Sambhujee and his commander, Netoji were already enjoying such a position. He expressed his bitter feelings before Ram Singh and the Emperor dismissed him without conferring any mark of the Imperial favour, and directed him to be taken to a house outside the city near the house of Raja Jay Singh. Shivaji was forbidden to come to the Royal presence. When he retired to the house provided for him orders were given to the *Kotwals* to place guards round it.

Shivaji's Escape.—Shivaji was practically in a state of confinement at Agra. He sent a petition through Raghunath Pant, reminding the Emperor of his promises and the assurances given to him by Raja Jay Singh. He referred to his services to the empire, and promised every assistance in reducing Bijapur and Golconda. He asked permission to go back to his jaghir, and to let his attendants return to the Deccan. The emperor did not give any definite reply. He allowed his attendants to return but kept Shivaji under restraint. Shivaji felt awfully mortified and sought opportunity to escape.

While at Agra he had made the acquaintance of several nobles and began to exchange presents with them as a mark of friendship. Once he was reported to be ill, and after some days it was given out that he had recovered. After recovery he obtained permission to send sweetmeats to Brahmans, Faquirs and to his friends. For this purpose he procured large baskets. The presents passed out of his house for days together. Meanwhile he had sent two or three swift horses to wait for him at a distance of fourteen *Kos* from the city. In two baskets Shivaji and Shambhujee accommodated themselves, and directed the servants to take them in the direction of the horses already sent in advance. One of his attendants Hiraji Pharzand, stayed behind putting the ring of Shivaji on his finger to allay suspicion. Shivaji marched off towards Muttra in the course of the night, and the Imperial guards did not receive any information of the flight till Shivaji had gone a long way. A close search was made for the runaway chief. At Muttra Shivaji took up the disguise of a mendicant, and shaved his beards and whiskers. From Muttra he went to Benares, and returned to the Deccan by following the route of pilgrims along Allahabad, and Gaya. The young Shambhujee was left behind in charge of a Deccani Brahman named Khrishnaji Vishwanath. In December 1666, Shivaji returned to his capital after an absence of nine

months. His return was received with great rejoicing by his people. Shortly afterwards Shambhujee was safely brought to him. Krishnaji Vishwanath and his mother were amply rewarded for the safe custody of the boy.

Retreat of the Moghuls :—The siege of Bijapur lasted for eight months. Neither the cavalry nor the infantry spared pains to reduce the capital of the Adil Shahis. The country about the city was thoroughly devastated. Not a trace of grass or fodder was to be found for forty or fifty *kos* round about. The Imperial armies suffered for want of supplies. On the other hand the King of Golconda had sent 6,000 cavalry and 25,000 infantry in aid of Bijapur. The besiegers were greatly harassed by the combined troops. When the Moghul army was reduced to such a miserable plight Raja Jay Singh and Dilere Khan fell back on Dharur, and sent a despatch to the Emperor describing the situation. The Emperor directed the generals to cease operations. Jay Sing was directed to proceed to Aurangabad and Dilere Khan was recalled to the Court. Raja Jay Singh raised the siege of Bijapur in obedience to the Imperial orders. All the forts he had conquered were abandoned, except Lohgad, Sinhgad and Purandhar. Such guns as could be carried away were removed from the forts. The forts were then given up to plunder, and were set on

fire. The strong towns and walls were blown up. The general then proceeded to Aurangabad. The news of Shivaji's escape from Agra had by this time reached Raja Jay Singh. He arrested Netoji Palkar and his son according to instructions from the Emperor. The failure of the Bijapur campaign and the escape of Shivaji brought discredit on the Rajput General. Aurangzeb recalled him from the Deccan on suspicion of his complicity with the Mahrattas. The veteran soldier died on the way at Burhanpur (July 12, 1567), and thus escaped disgrace. Prince Muazzim was now appointed Governor of the Deccan and Raja Jaswant Singh was placed second in command. Dilere remained for sometime in the Deccan, and was afterwards transferred to Malwa.

Shivaji on his return from Agra began his hostile operations against the Moghuls. A great portion of Kalyan was reconquered. The old forts were repaired and strengthened. The new Viceroy of the Deccan was not in a mood to pursue hostilities against Shivaji. Jaswant Singh formed the acquaintance of the Mahratta chief when he was at Agra, and became one of his enthusiastic admirers. A treaty was negotiated through the Rajput prince. Aurangzeb was prevailed upon to agree to terms very favourable to Shivaji. The title of Raja was conferred upon him. Shambhujee was confirmed in his *munsab*. A jaghir in Berar was granted to Shivaji in satisfaction

of his claims on Junnar or Ahmadnagar. The districts of Poona, Chakan, and Supa were restored but the forts of Purandhar and Sinhgad were retained. The services of Kadtoji Guzar were placed at the disposal of Prince Muazzim in pursuance of the terms of agreement. It is very difficult to explain the attitude of Aurangzeb in this matter. It may be that he wanted to break the opposition of the Mahrattas, and to prepare himself for a more vigorous attack later on. But that he would make Prince Muazzim privy to this design is not conceivable. The treaty was ratified early in 1668. Aurangzeb in a letter to Shivaji, dated the 24th February 1668, gave his approval to the terms of settlement.

Shortly afterwards about the middle of the year a treaty was also concluded between the King of Bijapur and the Emperor. Ali Adil Shah surrendered Sholapur and territory yielding 180,000 pagodas. Shivaji pressed on Jaswant Singh his claims to *Chauth* and *Surdeshmukhi* in both Bijapur and Golconda. Although the claims were not fully recognised the Bijapur Government promised to pay an annual revenue of three and half lakhs of rupees, and the King of Golconda agreed to pay five lakhs. So for the first time the two Kingdoms agreed to pay an extraordinary tax to the Mahratta leader for maintaining peace in their territory. Since the conclusion of peace Shivaji directed his entire attention to organise the Civil Government of his Kingdom.

CHAPTER IX.

The Restoration.

1668 to 1674 A. D.

Reconquest of Sinhgad :—For about two years after the conclusion of the treaties with the Moghuls in 1668 A. D. Shivaji was busy in organising his government. The reforms he introduced and the order and discipline he enforced in the army were as important as his work of liberation of the Mahratta nation. For the time being there was complete peace in the country and the people were happy and prosperous. The peace however was interrupted by Aurangzeb in 1670 A. D. The Emperor suspected that Prince Muazzim was plotting his overthrow and that he was maintaining friendly relations with Shivaji in order to obtain his help for the purpose. He did not desire this friendship to ripen and sent orders to the prince to apprehend Shivaji, Pratap Rao Guzar and the principal Mahratta officers. Before the official orders were received by the Prince informations had reached him of the Emperor's intention and he had warned Pratap Rao Guzar privately. Pratap Rao made a precipitate escape and when the orders came it was too late for the Prince to capture the Mahrattas. Shivaji could no longer rely on the friendship of the Moghuls. Aurangzeb did not mean to stand by the terms of the treaty. His only object

was to extend his empire, and the peace was only a temporising measure. The small State of the Mahrattas was not likely to exist by simply remaining on the defensive. Aurangzeb had deliberately insulted Shivaji at Agra most probably with a view to crush the Mahrattas by forcing them to declare hostility. On the present occasion the order to seize the person of Shivaji and the principal officers was an open challenge to them. The challenge was taken up in right earnest, and Shivaji now plunged himself into the work of reconquering his territory from the Moghuls.

His first object was to obtain possession of Sinhgad and Purandhar. These forts obstructed his communications to Chakan and Poona, and were very strongly garrisoned. There is a ballad in Marathi which says that the expedition to Sinhgad was undertaken at the instance of Jijabai. The commandant of the fort was a celebrated soldier named Ude Bhan, and it was believed that it was impregnable. It is situated on the eastern side of the Saihadri range, near the point where the Purandhar hills branch off into the Deccan. It is connected with these hills on the east and west by very narrow ridges. Its north and south sides are rugged, with an ascent of half a mile. There is a steep precipice of 40 feet above this height and the strong walls of the fortress stand above this

precipice. The fort is triangular, and its boundary is about two miles in length. Entrance into it is impossible except through the gates. From its summit could be seen the beautiful valley of the Neera to the east. A great plain stretches in the north. Poona stands in the midst of this plain, and in the midst of the mountains far off in the south west lies Raigad. Tanaji Malusare started from this place with a picked body of a thousand Mavalis in the month of February on the ninth night of the dark half of the moon. He was accompanied by his brother, Suryaji. They approached by the western gate known as the Kalyan gate. The troops went by different paths, and reached a place which was least liable to discovery. Tanaji adopted the Mahratta device of escalading. He fastened a rope ladder along the Dongri cliff by means of the *Ghorpad* Yeshwant. When only about fifty men had climbed the rope broke. The gallant fifty with Tanaji at the head silently approached the Kalyan gate and took the guards by surprise. They entered two other gates by killing about 700 men. By this time Ude Bhan was prepared to meet the Mahrattas, and was engaged in a fierce encounter with Tanaji. The brave Mavali soldier fell fighting. The small band which accompanied him would have been overpowered but for the timely arrival of the rest of the army. Soon the garrison was slaughtered and Shivaji's flag was hoisted. Five cannons

were fired to announce the occupation of the fort. Shivaji came to the place to rejoice with his troops (Feb. 17, 1670). On seeing the dead body of Tanaji Malusare who was his comrade since childhood, and who had fought so bravely in several battles he said with a deep pathos "I have got the fort but I have lost the lion." The soldiers were rewarded with silver bracelets on return to Raigad. Suryaji was appointed commandant of the fort of Sinhgad.

One month after the fall of Sinhgad Purandhar was occupied without much resistance. By the end of June Maholy, Kurnalla and Lohgad were taken. But Shivaji met with repulse at Shivneri, the place of his birth, and which he was very anxious to recover. He met with another disappointment at Janjira. The governor of the island Fateh Khan was reduced to an almost inextricable position. The bridgeheads to the island were all occupied by the Mahrattas, and the governor was driven into the island. He could not receive any reinforcement from Bijapur as the possessions of Shivaji were lying between Janjira and Bijapur. The Mahratta fleet also attacked Janjira. Fateh Khan had no other alternative than to surrender. He was willing to give up Janjira if only Shivaji allowed him and his garrison to go free. Shivaji agreed to these terms. But before Fateh Khan could avail himself of the arrangement he was put under confinement by the Abyssinians of the island. The leaders

of the Abyssinian party, Sidi Sambal, Sidi Yakut and Sidi Khairyat applied to the Moghul governor of Surat to protect them from the Mahrattas, and to hold the island as a dependency of the Delhi Government. The Surat fleet was despatched in response to the appeal, and acting in conjunction with the Abyssinian fleet relieved the island.

The Second Sack of Surat :—Shivaji was not the man to forget the part Surat played in Janjira. In the beginning of October he marched upon the city with an army, 15,000 strong. He reached Surat on October 3, 1670, and on his approach the inhabitants fled as on the first occasion. The European merchants defended their own factories. The English obtained peace by sending some presents to Shivaji. The Dutch factory was not molested as it was lying in a retired part of the city. The French also were spared as they allowed the Mahrattas to pass through their factory to attack the Prince of Kashgar who was valiantly protecting a seraglio, which was reported to contain much treasure. The Prince fled at night leaving a considerable amount of silver and gold to the Mahrattas. After three days Shivaji left the city laden with spoils of immense value. But before he had gone away he left a letter for the inhabitants of the city demanding from them an annual tribute of 12 lakhs to escape further plunder.

The party took the main road from Surat to Aurangabad. It had passed Kunchin Munchin near Chandore when it was followed by a Moghul detachment from Aurangabad under Daud Khan. Another larger body of the Moghul troops was proceeding to oppose the Mahrattas at the Nasik pass. Shivaji perceiving the danger before hand divided his army into four or five divisions. The party carrying the booty was sent in advance. Other parties harassed the Moghuls, and at Khadase Daud Khan was overwhelmed and the Moghuls were put to rout. The Mahrattas then returned to Raigad without any further resistance. The money he got at Surat was employed in strengthening his military position. He prepared a large army and a big fleet, and made a display of his strength along the coast round about Bombay.

Further Incursions into the Moghul Territory :—Khandesh was not strongly protected. Shivaji got information of the state of affairs in that province, and sent them to Pratap Rao Guzar with a large force (December 1670). Several large towns were plundered and contributions were levied. It is believed that Shivaji led the incursions in person. The town of Kurinja was severely plundered. The village authorities on the route promised in writing to pay to Shivaji and his officers one-fourth of the revenue due to Government. Shivaji promised in return to spare these villages

from pillage and to protect them in times of danger.. This is the beginning of the exaction of *chauth* in a Moghul province. The object of such a levy is very clear from the terms of agreement with these villages.. Shivaji not only saved the places from Mahratta raids but took them under his protection. Moro Pant Pingle, the Peshwa, descended into the country through the Nasik pass, and took several forts, including Aundha, Patta and Salheir. He also reduced the Jawhar State and forced the Kolwan State to pay contributions.

The Moghuls did not offer strong resistance to those raids, and the Emperor suspected that Prince Muazzim was in league with Shivaji. There was no doubt a deficiency in the Moghul army in the Deccan at the time, and applications for further reinforcements went unheeded. The Emperor did not desire to strengthen the position of the Prince by sending troops. When the news of continued disasters reached the capital Jaswant Singh was recalled, and Mahabat Khan came at the head of 40,000 men. The new general was independent of the Prince, and directed his operations against the Mahrattas vigorously.

The Battle of Salheir 1672 :—In the first rush of his onset Mahabat Khan retook the forts of Aundha and Patta, but as the monsoon set in the Moghuls went in to

cantonments, and they did not resume operations till late in the ensuing season. Dilere Khan laid siege to Chakan and the other half of the army invested Salheir. The garrison of the latter fort consisted of only 7000 men, and there was not a sufficient store of provisions in the fort. A party of horse sent to reinforce the garrison was cut to pieces by the Pathans. Shivaji was determined to save the fort and sent Moro Pant and Pratap Rao Guzar with 20,000 horse. On receiving the news of the approach of this strong Mahratta force Mahabat Khan directed Iklas Khan to oppose them with the greatest part of his army. Pratap Rao confronted Iklas Khan, who tried to prevent the junction of the two columns of the Mahratta army. Moro Pant came in time to support Pratap Rao and the combined army attacked the Moghuls. The battle lasted for twelve hours. The Mahrattas succeeded in throwing the Moghul army into disorder. Iklas Khan escaped with only 2,000 men out of 20,000. The rest were either killed, or taken prisoner. It is stated that 6,000 horse, 125 elephants and a large quantity of jewels and treasure fell into the hands of the victors. The result of the great success was the abandonment of the siege of Salheir. "This victory" writes Grant Duff, "was the most complete ever achieved by Shivaji's troops, in a fair fought action against the Moghuls,

and contributed greatly to the renown of the Mahrattas." Mahabat Khan was a veteran soldier, and a defeat to his army greatly increased the prestige of the Mahrattas. A large number of soldiers left the service of Bijapur and Delhi and sought admission into the Mahratta army.

The European Factories :—During the rains of 1672 Shivaji conquered parts of the Kolwan in the northern Konkan. The same year he demanded tribute from the Portugese at Daman and Salsette. The latter refused to pay and Shivaji made an attempt to take the fort of Gharabandar in the island of Salsette. The Mahrattas failed in their object. But the English settlers at Bombay got frightened and sought peace. They had recently obtained possession of Bombay. King Charles II of England got the island as a dowry from the King of Portugal in 1661. It was then an insignificant place inhabited by only eleven Portugese families. Unable to manage it from a distance King Charles transferred it to the East India Company in 1668. The headquarters of the company was still at Surat. The position of Bombay as a shelter for the vessels from the fury of the south-west monsoon suggested to Gerald Aungier to remove the headquarters there. But the transfer was not made until 1674. The English did not desire any hostility with Shivaji as Bombay depended for its

supplies upon the Mahratta territory. On seeking peace the English were asked to join Shivaji against Janjira, but they managed to avoid this request on the plea of their neutrality. The English on the other hand asked for damages for the plunder of Rajapuri in 1661. Shivaji was willing to pay 10,000 pagodas when they would again settle there. This the English did not agree to do till they were indemnified. The negotiations did not proceed further at the time.

Loss of Danda Rajapuri :—Emperor Aurangzeb recalled Mahabat Khan and prince Muazzim after the disaster at Salheir. Bahadur Khan Koka, afterwards known as Khan Jahan Bahadur was then appointed Viceroy of the Deccan, with Dilere Khan as second in command. The new Viceroy did not venture on any offensive operations against the Mahrattas, but instead raised a line of defence by blocking up the Ghats, so that the Mahrattas might not carry their raids into Khandesh. Dilere Khan, who had acquired his experience in the previous engagements advised a strong offensive. This however did not find favour with Bahadur Khan. The Mahrattas cunningly turned aside from Khandesh and raided the country between Ahmadnagar and Aurangabad. The Viceroy failed to take effective measures against such raids, and encamped at Pairgaom on the Bhima during the monsoon.

Shivaji went on an expedition against Golconda when Bahadur Khan was taking rest. The King of Golconda had sent his army to recover the little town of St. Thome in the Coromandel Coast from the French. This was a settlement of the Portuguese, and the King of Golconda had taken it by force in 1669. The French invested the place by sea and turned away the Golconda garrison. The King had sent his troops against the French when Shivaji appeared at the gates of Hyderabad. The Mahratta chief returned to Raigad on receiving a ransom of two million *pagodas*.

While Shivaji was away in Golconda his coast towns suffered great loss by the combined attack of the Moghul and the Sidi fleet. Sidi Yakut was then the Governor of Janjira. He asked Bahadur Khan to send a fleet from Surat. The Viceroy readily complied and Danda Rajapuri was stormed. This port was of great value to Janjira, as it stood between the mainland and the island. Raghu Ballal Atre was in charge of the garrison. When the Mahrattas were celebrating the Holi and were off their guard they were attacked both by land and sea. The garrison was massacred. Raghu Ballal in this miserable plight surrendered on condition that the garrison would be spared. But Sidi Yakut did not keep his word. They were put to death and only the old women were allowed to escape.

Expeditions against Bijapur :—Sultan Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur had a paralytic stroke on the 15th of December, 1672. His son Sikunder Shah was only five years old. His only other offspring was a daughter named Padshah Bibi. The prime minister Abdul Muhammad was a man of weak nature. He lacked the ability to keep factions at Court under control on the demise of Ali Adil Shah, although he was very honest. He therefore recommended to the dying King to appoint Khawas Khan as the regent of the infant king. He further recommended that he himself along with two other principal nobles Abdul Karim and Muzuffar Khan should be sent to command in different parts of the Kingdom. The King reluctantly agreed to these proposals. On his death Khawas Khan assumed the regency, but did not send Abdul Karim and Abdul Muhammad to their respective commands, lest they enter into friendly relations with the Moghuls, and make terms to suit their convenience. Consequently the plan of the Prime Minister to engage the Moghuls failed. Shivaji kept informations of the state of affairs in Bijapur, and on the death of the Sultan considered himself free from the conditions of the treaty of 1662. In March 1673 he assembled a big army at Vishalgad, and retook Panhala which had been in the hands of the King of Bijapur since it was captured by Sidi Johar. Next he directed Annaji Datto to attack the rich town of Hubli, south-east

of Dharwar. It was an important centre of trade, famous for the manufacture of cloth. The Mahrattas plundered the merchants of all nationalities at the place. The booty here exceeded in value even that of Surat. The English factory suffered a loss of about £3,000. Mr. Aungier demanded indemnity for the damage, but Shivaji did not fully admit the claims. At this time, May, 1673, the Moghul fleet from Surat asked leave to tide over the monsoon in the harbour of Bombay. But Aungier refused to break the neutrality specially because it was not to his interest.

Shivaji then sent his fleet along the Malabar coast. With the help of his navy he occupied Karwar and Ankola. The Rana of Bednore agreed to pay an annual tribute. On land he took Panhala, Satara, Chandan, Wandan, Pandavgad, Nandgiri and Tathwada, the line of forts between Satara and Phaltan, which were captured by Shivaji on behalf of Aurangzeb in 1668, and which were restored to Bijapur in the subsequent treaty. Bahadur Khan, the Moghul Viceroy of the Deccan, discontinued hostility with Shivaji on receiving a large sum of money and on the understanding that Shivaji would refrain from marauding in the Moghul territory. In the autumn of 1673 Shivaji laid siege to Phonda, which was on the road to Karwar and Ankola. But the place was very strongly defended, and the siege lasted till the next monsoon.

The protracted siege of Phonda afforded opportunity to the Bijapur Government to plan a counter-attack near Panhala. Abdul Karim marched westwards with a strong army. Pratap Rao Guzar was detached to harass him. Karim approached towards Bijapur. They met each other at Bmbrani between Miraj and Bijapur. Abdul Karim's army was outnumbered by Pratap Rao's cavalry and by the evening he was forced to ask for an armistice. He promised to allow the Mahrattas to pillage his province only if he was permitted to escape unmolested. Pratap Rao agreed to the terms without perceiving their full significance. Abdul Karim had no authority to agree to these terms, and the Bijapur Government could not possibly allow its territories to be pillaged without resistance. Shivaji was greatly displeased with Pratap Rao for giving up this opportunity of pressing against the enemy, and censured his action. Pratap Rao showed a very bad spirit in leading his cavalry into the Moghul territory upto the borders of Berar. This was a breach of neutrality with the Moghuls. Moreover Shivaji was badly in need of his help at the siege of Phonda. Abdul Karim also did not remain true to the agreement, as he shortly returned to retake Panhala. Shivaji could not offer him any resistance without the aid of Pratap Rao. When in the month of February, 1674, Abdul Karim had almost reached Panhala, Pratap Rao returned from

this raids. As he was about to commence the attack, Shivaji sent him a message that until he had destroyed Abdul Karim's army he should not show his face before him. This perturbed his mind. He departed from his usual method, and made a headlong charge. Pratap Rao was cut down with many of his men and the Mahratta army was put into confusion. At this juncture Hasaji Mohite came up with his reserve force. The Mahratta soldiers rallied round him, and Abdul Karim was forced to retire. Thus a defeat was turned into a victory. Hasaji Mohite was henceforth called Hambir Rao, and he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the cavalry. In this battle two other officers named Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadav distinguished themselves.

The Coronation:—Although Shivaji had so long exercised royal authority he had never undergone a formal ceremony of coronation. Such a ceremony becomes a necessity in the case of every king to receive the recognition of his subjects as well as of other states. It was specially necessary in the case of Shivaji as he was the founder of a new dynasty, and as his kingdom was altogether a new state carved out of the old state of Bijapur. The important Mahratta families considered him only a successful leader, but were not willing to concede to him royal rank. In such circumstances Shivaji on the advice of his ministers

arranged for a formal coronation ceremony. For this purpose Ganga Bhata, a Dakhini Pandit residing at Benares, was invited. The ceremony took place in pure Hindu style at Raigad on the 6th June, 1674. He assumed the title of Kshatriya Kulavatamsa Sree Raja Shiva Chhatra Pati. The accession of the king was announced by the fire of guns from one end of the kingdom to the other, from Kalyan in the north, to Savantwadi in the south.

The day following the coronation the king received a deputation of the English from Bombay. The deputation was led by Mr. Oxenden. The petition of the English was granted almost to the full. The terms of settlement were embodied in a treaty. The most important of the terms were (1) that the English should be permitted to trade in the dominions on payment of an *ad valorem* import duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent ; (2) that they would be permitted to build factories at Rajapur, Dabul, Chaul and Kalyan ; (3) that the coins should pass reciprocally ; (4) the English ships wrecked on the Mahratta coast should be restored to them ; and (5) that indemnity should be paid for the losses at Rajapur and Hubli. The King granted almost all the requests, but did not pay any compensation for the losses at Hubli, as he was not informed of the occurrence by Annaji Datto. By agreeing to the terms Shivaji obtained the friendship of the English.

Jijabai died shortly after the coronation. She could not bear the fatigue of the festivities. After an illness of five days she died. Shivaji held a second coronation when the mourning period was over. The old lady had the satisfaction of seeing her son wearing the crown, and being recognised as the lawful ruler of Maharashtra. She had suffered a great deal, and when her husband died she wanted to become *Sati* but the entreaties of her son dissuaded her from such an action. She used to exhort her son to remember his forefathers, and no one has done greater honour to his ancestry than Shivaji.

CHAPTER X.

The Campaign in the South.

Operations in the Konkan:—The English merchants on the coast had received favourable terms from Shivaji for carrying on their trade. There has also a Portugese settlement round Bassein. Shivaji sent Moro Pant after the monsoon to demand *chauth* from them. The Portugese evaded the *chauth* but had to save themselves by paying tribute. At the end of the year Shivaji joined Moro Pant, and the combined army ravaged the country up to Junnar. The siege of Janjira was continued, and the Moghuls having attacked some part of Kalyan Moro Pant retook Aundha and Patta. An attempt to retake Shivneri, the birthplace of the king, failed. Then he turned towards the south to besiege Phonda. Nimbalkar and Ghatge tried to make a diversion in favour of the king of Bijapur in the country between Panhala and Tathwada. Shivaji however did not turn back from his operations in Phonda. A breach was effected in the fort by exploding a mine, and the garrison surrendered in April, 1676. The success at Phonda encouraged Shivaji to go further south. He levied contributions from the Raja of Sonda, plundered the town of Karwar, and returned to Raigad with immense booty. While he was away in the South Hambir Rao entered the Moghul territory and brought spoils to the capital. Soon after

Shivaji was busy in Phaltan against the Naik Nimbalkar, built four forts between Panhala and Tathwada as a line of defence. The fatigue of the Konkan campaign was too much for his health. He was laid up with fever for some months. These months of illness were the longest period of rest he enjoyed in life.

The Affairs in Bijapur.—Khawas Khan an Abyssinian noble was regent of the infant king. In order to promote his own interests he opened negotiations with the Moghul Viceroy Bahadur Khan. Khawas Khan's daughter was betrothed to the second son of the Viceroy, as a mark of friendship. The regent agreed to hold Bijapur as a dependency of Delhi and give away Padshah Bibi to one of the sons of Aurangzeb. The arrangement did not please the people, and the Afghan party under the leadership of Abdul Karim formed a conspiracy against Khawas Khan, and the murder of the regent was brought about. Bahadur Khan came to punish the murderers of Khawas Khan, but the army under Abdul Karim put up a strong defence. The Viceroy was forced to retreat to the north of the Bhima. Ultimately through the mediation of Dilere Khan a truce was concluded. The two leaders entered into an offensive and defensive alliance against Golconda.

Alliance with Golconda :—Sultan Abdul Kutb Shah had died in 1672 and he was succeeded by his

son-in-law, Abu Hussain. The new king was a dissolute young man before his accession to the throne. Aurangzeb expected that government by such a weak man would help him in fulfilling his object. He wanted to conquer the whole of the Deccan, and was waiting for the time when the factions in the different courts would make his work easy. Both in Bijapur and Hyderabad he had men to make intrigues in his favour. To his great disappointment however Abu Hussain greatly improved in character, and proved himself a strong opponent of Moghul intrigues. He appointed two Brahman brothers, Madanna Pant and Akkana Pant to high offices and entrusted the management of the kingdom into their hands. This policy was looked upon with suspicion by both Dilere Khan and Abdul Karim. At this time Raghunath Narayan Hanumante, the old minister of Shahji and Venkoji quarrelled with the latter, and was living at Hyderabad with Madanna Pant, as both of them were great Sanskrit scholars. Shivaji reflected over the fate of Golconda, and saw in the ruin of Golconda danger to his own kingdom. He thought of two measures as safeguard against the purpose of Aurangzeb. First, he wanted to form an alliance with Golconda, and second he wanted to establish a kingdom in the south by securing the territory of his father. So that even when he would be dislodged from his kingdom in the Konkan, he might have a refuge to rally his forces

for further operations. This was the keynote of his policy in the south. With this object he made a grand preparation for an expedition.

The opposition of Bahadur Khan was bought off by a heavy amount. Moro Pant was given the chief management of the kingdom in his absence, and the Pant Sachiv Annaji Dutto was appointed to guard the coast. All possible arrangements were made for carrying on the administration.

Towards the close of 1676 Shivaji started with 30,000 horse and 40,000 infantry. The Bijapur Government did not object to his 'marching through that country. On approaching the border of Golconda he sent a messenger to Hyderabad. The Sultan was persuaded by Madanna Pant to extend a welcome to the Mahratta king. Raghunath Narayan Hanumante who was living with Madanna worked in favour of the king. After some consultations extending over a month the Kutb Shah entered into an alliance with Shivaji. The Mahrattas guaranteed to fight for the position of Golconda either against Bijapur or the Emperor of Delhi. They were in return provided with ammunition and a large sum of money. It was also arranged that Bijapur would be admitted into the benefits of the alliance, provided Abdul Karim were removed from regency and the brother of Madanna Pant appointed instead.

After completing the arrangement with Golconda Shivaji marched south, crossed the Krishna at the Nivriti Sungum, 25 miles below Kornoul in March. Here he went on a pilgrimage to the temple of Shri Mallikarjun at Parvatam, about 83 miles lower down the Krishna. There he was prepared to sacrifice himself before the deity but, so runs the story, Bhawani spoke to him in a vision that she wanted to accomplish much more through him. The King therefore desisted from the course, and then visited several other sacred places in that place, and after twelve days rejoined the army at Cuddapah.

The Tanjore Expedition :—The Mahratta army entered the Carnatic by the Damalcherry pass, and here Shivaji marched in advance with the cavalry and his Mavali soldiers leaving the heavy part of the army to follow him. He passed Madras in the early part of May, and first arrived at Gingi, north-west of Pondichery. The fortress belonged to Bijapur, but the garrison surrendered without any resistance. Shivaji made regular arrangements for the government of the place. His system of the Deccan was introduced. The commandant of Trinomali Sher Khan, opposed the Mahratta force, but he was overborne and made a prisoner. Vellore surrendered in September. "When the siege of Vellore had made considerable progress Shivaji went to Trivadi forty miles south of Gingi. He sent a letter to his brother, Venkoji, from that place asking for a share in his

father's property. Venkoji had removed his capital from Bangalore to Tanjore in 1675. Although he inherited the jaghir from his father, his claims did not rest entirely on inheritance. On the death of Shahjee the Bijapur Government made a fresh grant of the jaghir to Venkoji. Shivaji however based his claims on the ground that the jaghir was hereditary property, and that the re-grant was made without his knowledge. He therefore sent for Venkoji to settle the dispute personally. Venkoji stayed with his brother for two months, but they could not come to any settlement. Shivaji then went to Vellore to complete the siege. Meanwhile Venkoji referred the matter to the Bijapur Government. But the latter urged him to comply with his brother's demands. Then he resolved to fight out his own case. An engagement took place in which Venkoji's soldiers were killed in large numbers. Shivaji then undertook a steady offensive, and the fiefs outside Tanjore, viz., Arni, Kolar, Bangalore, Balapur and Sira, all fell in quick succession in 1677, and the whole of the Carnatic under the Government of Bijapur either paid *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* or were plundered.

The state of affairs in the Deccan now required Shivaji's attention. Bahadur Khan has been recalled by the Emperor for his friendly relations with Shivaji. The plan of an attack upon Golconda by the combined army of Dilere Khan and Abdul Karim was approved of, but the attack failed. The Bijapur troops grew

rebellious as they did not receive their pay, and most of them entered the Mahratta service. The confusion was further increased by the death of Abdul Karim (January). Masaud Khan, son-in-law of Sidi Johar, was appointed regent, as he was a man of considerable property, being the jaghirdar of Adoni. The new regent promised to pay the debts of Dilere Khan, and the arrears due to the troops. He paid a part of the arrears to the troops but did not pay the debts of Dilere Khan. He did not redeem the pledges given by Khawas Khan, viz to give away Padshah Bibi to the Moghuls. A large portion of the cavalry was disbanded, who joined either the Moghuls or the Mahrattas. Shivaji left the Carnatic after appointing his half-brother Santaji in charge of Gingi, to be assisted by Raghunath Narayan and Hambir Rao in the general management of the affairs in the newly acquired territory.

He marched along the banks of the Vefavati river until he reached Bellary. Some of the people belonging to the fort cut off one of the patrols of the king. Shivaji demanded satisfaction for the outrage, but as none was forthcoming the fort was blockaded. The commandant fell fighting and his widow, Sabitribai heroically defended the fort for 26 days. On the 27th day the garrison surrendered. Next Shivaji reduced all the country in the Doab south of the Tungbhadra. Janardhan Pant Samant was

-appointed governor of the province.. At Turgai he halted to make another attempt to settle matters with Venkoji.

The small party of Hambir Rao had routed the entire army of Venkoji, and his troops became anxious to join the flag of Shivaji. The prince was dispirited when he received a letter from Shivaji, urging him to concede his claims, and not to depend upon his Mussulman advisers. Venkoji consulted his wife Dipabai, and at her advice sought the intercession of Raghunath Narayan. The latter however refused to see him till he received Shivaji's orders, which however were readily obtained, and Raghunath succeeded in bringing about an accommodation. Venkoji was forgiven for his past conduct. He paid a considerable sum of money, and gave to Shivaji half of his father's jewels. The hereditary fiefs were bestowed upon Dipabai, and Venkoji was allowed to retain Tanjore on payment of a share in the revenue. One of the conditions of the settlement was that Venkoji would remain true to the alliance, and would accept Raghunath Narayan as his first minister.

The campaign ended in success. The Mahratta kingdom now extended beyond the frontiers of Maharashtra. The Bijapur governor of the Doab, Husain Khan Miana made an attempt to hold the Doab. In conjunction with Nimbalkar, the Naik of Phaltan he

attacked Shivaji near Turgal. Hambir Rao had joined Shivaji by this time, as his services were no longer required in the Carnatic. Hussain Khan suffered a heavy defeat. The whole of the Doab now submitted to Shivaji. Shivaji returned to Raigad after an absence of eighteen months. In this campaign he had almost doubled his kingdom, and his territory now extended from sea to sea, with a strongly fortified frontier.

CHAPTER XI.

The Last Years of Shivaji.

Alliance with Bijapur:—Shivaji returned to Raigad in April 1678. In his absence his Peshwa Moro Pant. had carried on operations against the Sidis of Janjira, but it was very difficult to crush them on account of their position and because they received help from the Moghuls. The Mahratta sailors were very severely dealt with by them and a large number inhumanly slaughtered. Shivaji was preparing to take revenge on them after his return from the south when he was called away to help Bijapur against the Moghuls.

The Government of Bijapur was in a state of confusion on account of the factions inside, the conquests of Shivaji in the Carnatic and in the Doab, and the pressure of Dilere Khan. The regent Sidi Masaud in a helpless condition applied to the king of Golconda for assistance. Sultan Abu Hussain was indignant at the conduct of Shivaji. He had provided Shivaji with money, artillery and men in his southern campaign, but did not receive any share in his rich spoils. So he entered into an alliance with Sidi Masaud against Shivaji, and paid him a large amount of money to pacify the mutinous soldiers. The late regent Khawas Khan had agreed to give away Padshah Bibi to the Moghuls and to hold the kingdom as a dependency of

Delhi. Sidi Masaud did not comply with these terms. The Emperor was not satisfied with the conciliatory attitude of Dilere Khan. Moreover he was incensed at the failure of the Moghul attack upon Golconda. So he appointed Prince Muazzim as Viceroy of the Deccan and placed Dilere Khan second in command, and asked him to press upon Bijapur to fulfil the conditions of the treaty. The Afghans in the Bijapur service were won over by Dilere Khan, and enlisted in his army. An envoy was sent to demand the surrender of Padshah Bibi. The Afghan party under the leadership of Syed Mukhtoom rose in arms to support the demand of the Moghuls. But the people grew furious. Padshah Bibi was their favourite, and they could not give her up. The unfortunate girl resolved to sacrifice herself in order to save her country. She went to Dilere Khan of her own accord, and was sent to Aurangabad by the General. But the sacrifice of the princess did not stop the advance of Dilere Khan. The people of Bijapur offered a stout resistance, and pushed his attacks back. But to their great dismay a large reinforcement came from Delhi. In almost a bewildered state Sidi Masaud wrote to Shivaji to come to their aid as a neighbour, and to unite with them to expel the foreigner. The fall of Bijapur and the success of the Moghul arms in the Deccan meant danger to the Mahratta power. So Shivaji readily agreed to join Bijapur. A cavalry six to seven thousand strong was despatched to protect

Bijapur. Shivaji's men demanded that one of the gates should be entrusted to them. Masand declined to grant this request, so the Mahrattas began to harass the Moghuls, and to plunder the places on their way. Masand became suspicious of their conduct and made peace with Dilere Khan. But the quarrel between the regent and his rival Sharza Khan put this arrangement at naught. Bijapur remained in the same state of confusion. This happened towards the end of 1678.

The Fall of Bhupalgad:—Sambhujee, the eldest son of Shivaji was a young man of violent temper. For an outrage committed upon a married Brahman woman he was kept under confinement by his father at Panhala. But he somehow escaped from the fort and joined Dilere Khan in November 1678. Dilere Khan received him in open arms, and wrote to the Emperor urging an intrigue in Maharashtra in favour of the prince. Sambhujee was made a commander of 7000, and conferred the title of Raja. The flight of Sambhujee was a cause of great anxiety to Shivaji. He tried his best to bring him back. But all efforts failed. To add to his troubles Sambhujee was sent by Dilere Khan to storm the fort of Bhupalgad, lying between Bijapur and Satara. Phirangoji Narsula was the commandant of the fort. His gallant defence of Chakan won praise even from the enemy. At the approach of Sambhujee Phirangoji wavered, and requested the prince not to attack the fort. Sambhujee was not the man to listen to these entreaties, and appeared before

the gates of Bhupalgad with all his forces. Phirangoji then left the command and went to Panhala. The Moghul assault began early in the morning and the fort fell by noon (March, 1679). The relieving party sent by Shivaji came too late. Shivaji could not excuse Phirangoji for the neglect of his duty, and ordered his execution. Dilere Khan's forces were however harassed by the troops sent by Shivaji to relieve the fort. From Bhupalgad Dilere went back to Dulkhed.

Further Troubles in Bijapur :— Masaud Khan of Bijapur found it impossible to restore order in the Kingdom. There was no end of intrigues and counter-intrigues. It was not to the interests of the Moghuls, that there should be peaceful government. In this state of confusion Dilere Khan launched a new campaign against Bijapur. He crossed the Bhima at Dulkhed, forty miles north of Bijapur, on the 18th August, 1679. Masaud Khan wrote to Shivaji entreating him to come to his rescue. "We cannot defend the kingdom" wrote he. "and its forts without your aid. Be true to your salt; turn towards us. Command what you consider proper and it shall be done by us." Shivaji could not refuse such an entreaty. He ordered 10,000 cavalry under Hambir Rao Mohite to proceed to Bijapur and sent there a large quantity of provisions. The King himself went to Panhala.

The Moghuls by this time had reached the neighbourhood of Bijapur. Shivaji personally led another cavalry of 11,000 and came to Bijapur towards the end of October. He directed Hambir Rao to raid the Moghul dominions in order to call Dilere Khan away from Bijapur. But the Moghul General did not pay any heed to the raids. But on the other hand he pressed his siege more vigorously, which however proved a failure. Then he made a fruitless attempt to make peace with Masaud. On the 14th November he left Bijapur and marched westwards to invade the country about Miraj and Panhala. He proceeded via Tikota a flourishing village to Athni. Here Dilere Khan and Sambhujee fell out. The Mahratta Prince objected to the violence committed by the Mahomedans upon the Hindus. Shivaji had made sufficient preparations to meet Dilere Khan's attack at Panhala. His raids in the Moghul territory had not been so successful as he expected. He was defeated by Dilere Khan near Bijapur and he managed somehow to escape to Patna with only 500 cavalry. At Panhala however he retrieved the previous disasters. Dilere Khan's army was pushed back and the Mahrattas pressed towards Khandesh and plundered Dharagaon and Chopra to the north of Aurangabad (4th—6th December). By this time Sambhujee had left the Moghul protection. Aurangzeb did not approve of Dilere Khan's design to create an intrigue in favour of Sambhujee. He was rather apprehensive

that the Mahratta Prince instead of helping the Moghuls might win over the Hindu officers under him. So he ordered Dilere Khan to send Sambhujee as a prisoner to Delhi. Dilere Khan however was not so mean as to commit this treachery. He warned Sambhujee of his position in the Moghul camp and connived at his escape (2nd December, 1679). The return of Sambhujee was welcomed by his father but he was not given full freedom and kept under restraint at Panhala.

Flushed with success in Khandesh the Maharatta troops turned south-east and attacked Jalna to the east of Aurangabad. This rich city was only 50 miles from the Moghul capital of the Deccan. Most of the wealthy citizens of Jalna had taken refuge in the hermitage of a saint called Sayed Jan Muhammad. The Mahrattas contrary to their tradition violated the sanctity of the hermitage and plundered the men who had taken shelter there, inspite of the protests made by the saint. The plunder continued for three days and it is said the saint cursed Shivaji for this sacrilege. It is believed by the people that the curse proved effective in bringing about the death of Shivaji within a short time.

Prince Muazzim who was then at Aurangabad sent 10,000 men under Ranmast Khan to cut off Shivaji's retreat. Shivaji was overtaken near Sangamner but

by a counter-attack Raimast Khan was slain and the Moghuls were routed. Another army of 20,000 was sent against Shivaji. The retreat of the Marhrattas was about to be cut off when with the help of his spy Bahirji Shivaji escaped by a passage through the hills known to the spy alone. After a difficult march the Mahratta army reached Patta, December 1679. This was the last important battle fought by Shivaji. Hambir Rao was wounded and the Mahrattas suffered a heavy loss.

Bijapur had been saved from the Moghul attack by the efforts of the Mahrattas. The people of Bijapur celebrated Dilere Khan's defeat by a series of festivities. They invited Shivaji to grace the occasion by his presence. The King accepted the invitation but as a condition of his acceptance he demanded that the territory conquered by him in the Carnatic and in the Doab should be ceded to him and that his brother Venkoji should be recognised as his vassal instead of that of Bijapur. Out of gratitude to his services to Bijapur Masaud Khan complied with all the demands of Shivaji. When the king visited Bijapur Sikunder Adil Shah granted a *sanad* specifying the concessions made. At this grant of sovereign authority to Shivaji in Tanjore Venkoji was greatly depressed. Shivaji wrote a letter to his brother to shake off this depression and to prove himself a worthy son of Shivaji by making further conquest.

Naval Engagement:—On his return to Raigad Shivaji made his last effort to reduce the Sidis of Janjira. In the middle of 1679 the Mahrattas took possession of Khanderi or Kennery island, about 16 miles south of Bombay. The English claimed the island and a naval engagement took place on October 15, between the English and Shivaji's admiral, Daulat Khan. The Mahrattas were beaten by the English frigate *Revenge* which contained heavier guns than the Mahratta vessels. Daulat Khan then managed to withdraw into Khanderi. The Sidis were then in open alliance with the English, and took part in the blockade of Khanderi. They secretly occupied Underi or Hennery and began to fortify it. Two engagements took place between the Sidis and Daulat Khan, and the Mahratta fleet was so much damaged that the ships sailed away to Rajapur to refit. The English at Bombay did not look with favour at the activities of the Sidi, and entered into a treaty with Shivaji. They undertook to exclude the Sidi from the harbour of Bombay, and to prevent him from making it as a naval base against the Mahrattas. This was the last important event in the career of Shivaji.

Death of Shivaji (April 5, 1680.)—Towards the end of December 1679, Shivaji's health declined. He had a premonition of the coming end and prepared himself for the great event. The affairs in the Maharashtra

cast a gloom over his mind. His eldest son, Sambhujee was a profligate young man and was lacking in the character of the leader of a rising nation. His third wife Sayarabai was carrying on an intrigue in favour of her infant son, Raja Ram. Among the ministers there was no unity, and jealousy prevailed between Moro Pant, the Peshwa, and Annaji Dutto, the viceroy of the West. In the perplexed state of his mind he visited Ramdas, the Mahratta saint, at Parali. The saint tried his best to cheer him up, and appealed to his spiritual nature.

On the 24th March, 1680, the Rajah was attacked with fever and dysentery. He suffered for 12 days, and on Sunday, the 5th April, he passed away in the noon. It was the full moon of the month of Chaitra. He was scarcely 53 when he died.

Shivaji's System of Government.—The regeneration of the Mahratta race was brought about by Shivaji not only by liberating the country from alien rule but by establishing a sound system of government. His work in this connection may be compared to the organisation set up by Napoleon in France after the French Revolution. As Napoleon gave a code of laws and gave a system of good government to the country so did Shivaji restore order in Maharashtra against so many adverse circumstances. The late Mr. Ranade in his admirable book on the *Rise of the Maratha Power* has given a fine

analysis of the system introduced by Shivaji. The founder of the Mahratta Kingdom was an illiterate man. In this respect he was like Akbar and Ranjit Singh. And like Akbar his system of government saved the country from many serious dangers in future. Ranjit Singh's Kingdom did not long outlive him but Shivaji's kingdom endured for about a century and a half. This is no mean evidence of the statesmanship of the founder. From the position of the leader of a band of Mavalis in the neighbourhood of Poona he rose to be the leader of the Mahratta nation, and his alliance was sought by the kings of Golconda and Bijapur, and even by the Emperor of Delhi on occasions. His power was directly felt by the people from Surat to Tanjore, and the European merchants in the Indian ports stood in awe of him. The people under his government were happy and comfortable. His civil government was perfect and his military organisation was perfect, and Shivaji did not derive the inspiration of good government from any foreign adviser or from any other country. The whole structure, was entirely due to his native genius. Here lies the greatness of the man.

The system was laid during the years 1668 and 1669 when he had made peace with the Moghuls. The revenue arrangements followed the principles laid down by Dadaji Konddev. The Government received two-fifths of the

actual crops. In the neighbouring states the share of the Government was more than 50 per cent. Collections were made by the agents appointed by the king. The whole country was divided into 14 Prants. A number of villages were grouped into a *Ta'uk*, and a number of *taluks* formed a *Subah*. Each Prant contained a number of *Subahs*. The lower officials were superintended by the men with higher authority. He discontinued the practice of farming out lands, and introduced the system of payment for services rendered. The old village and district officials such as Patels or Kulkurnis, Deshmukhs and Deshpandes were brought under strict supervision. The pay of the district officer or Subedar was about Rs. 100 a month. The collector of revenue in a group of two or three villages was known as *Karkun* or *Kamaryisdar*. The officer of the *Taink* was known as the *Talukdar* or *Tamridar*, and the title of the district officer was *Mamlitdar*, *Subdar* or *Mahalkari*. The lands were carefully measured and the names of the holders were carefully entered in the books. In times of distress *tagar* advances were liberally made. The Subedars performed the duties of collectors and magistrates. Civil justice was administered by the *Panchayet*, an ancient institution of India. The criminal law was mainly derived from the *Shastras*. The work of the civil officers was supervised by two highest officials in the headquarters viz., *Pant Amastyu* and *Pant Sachiv*. The former held an office-

corresponding to the present Finance Minister, and the latter to that of the Comptroller of Accounts.

Shivaji had a Council of Ministers known as the *Ashta Pradhan*. The *Peshwa* was the Prime Minister. He was the head of both civil and military administration, and exercised powers next to those of the king. The *Senapati* or Commander-in-chief was in charge of the military administration. *Pant Amatya* and *Pant Sachiv* were also members of the Cabinet. The *Mantri* was the king's Private Secretary, and the *Sumanta* was the Foreign Secretary. The two other members of the Council were the *Nyadhish* or the Chief Justice, and the *Pandit Rao*, the expounder of the Hindu Law and Shastras, something like the Law Member. The division of the offices was made on a scientific basis and the present Executive Council of the Government of India follows in many respects the Council of Shivaji. None of the offices were hereditary. The appointments were made according to merit.

He paid great attention to the religious establishments. Temples were adequately endowed. Brahmans in charge of endowments had to render accounts of their charge. He continued the endowments made for the maintenance of temples and mosques or in honour of saints. Grants were made to the Brahmans for imparting education in the form of *Dakhsina*.

His military organisation bears ample marks of order and discipline. The army was divided into cavalry and infantry. In the cavalry there were two kinds of men, *Bargirs* and *Sillidars*. The latter had to provide their own horse, whereas the former were supplied horse by the State. The *Bargirs* formed the *Pagah* or household troops. Shivaji relied more upon the *Paga* troops than upon the irregular *Sillidars*. Every 25 horsemen formed a unit, over which there was a *Havildar*, 125 formed a *Jumala*, under a *Jumaladar*, 10 *Jumalas* constituted the charge of a *Hazari*, and 5 *Hazari* charges formed a *Panch Hazari*. In the infantry 10 men constituted a unit under a *Naik*. There was a *Havildar* over 5 *Naiks*, a *Jumaladar* over 2 *Havildars*, a *Hazari* over 10 *Jumalas*, and a *Sarnobat* over 7 *Hazaris*. Under each of the higher Maratha officers there were one Brahman and one Prahbu accountant and clerk, known as *Saonis* or *Mazumdar*, and *Karkhannis* or *Jaminis*. These officers were government agents. Besides these the officers of the rank of *Jumaladars* and upwards had their own clerical establishment. All the officers and men received fixed pay. All plunder was the property of the government. The officers had to give an account of the plunders made, and in order that they may not misappropriate the spoils of war they were paid in advance. The horse subsisted mainly in the enemies country. While in the forts during the rains fodder

was supplied by the villagers who were given rent free lands for the purpose. Shivaji had about 280 forts. He displayed his foresight and generalship in looking after these forts. The kingdom was bound together by a chain of hillforts, and in days of adversity these hillforts, saved the country. Each fort was under a *Havildar*, assisted by a *Subedar* and a *Karkhannis*. The *Subedar* was generally a Brahman, and had to perform the revenue and civil duties. The *Karkhannis* was invariably a Prabhu and was in charge of grain, fodder, stores and of the repairs. There was strict conservancy on the hill sides, and the forests below the forts were entrusted to the *Ramoshis*. The forts were built in such a style as would make them almost impregnable. "There is scarcely an instance of one of these," writes the Rev. A. K. Nairne in the "History of the Konkan" "standing on level or open ground. They are all built on some natural post of advantage. If on the coast, on a cliff or a spit of land more than half surrounded by the sea; if on the low country, on some steep hill commanding a river or a pass; if on the Ghats, on some projecting spur or rock, or above a great natural scarp. The construction of all is on the same principle, the whole top of the hill or the end of the promontory is surrounded by a wall relieved by numerous bastions. If there is any slope or place likely to invite approach an outwork is projected and connected with the main fort by a passage

between a double wall. There is seldom more than one entrance to the fort, and this is generally the strongest part and the most noticeable. The outer gateway is thrown forward and protected by a bastion on each side and often by a tower above: entering this a narrow passage winding between two high walls leads to the inner gate, which is in the face of the main wall, and defended by bastions which command the approach. This arrangement in a time when guns could not compete with stone walls rendered the approach to the gates very hazardous. Inside the main wall there was generally an inner fortress or citadel, and surrounding this were the various buildings required for the accommodation of the troops, and also magazines, tanks and wells. In many of the greater forts living houses for the commandant or massive round towers were built upon the wall of the main work on the least accessible side. The larger forts had generally a town or a *petha* clustered about the base of the hill on which the fort stood. Finally may be mentioned, as one of the invariable features of Shivaji's forts, a small Shrine with an image of Hanuman the monkey god, standing just inside the main gate." The plan, of course, was modified according to site and requirements of each place.

The troops were mainly recruited in the Ghat Mahta and in the Konkan. The soldiers from the former region were known as the Mavalis, and from the latter

the Hetkaris. During the Dusserah every year when appeals were made for enlistment the men flocked in large numbers. His army consisted also of the soldiers of Bijapur who left the service of their former master for non-payment of their dues. The admiralty was mainly managed by Mahomedan officers. So the army was not entirely a Hindu army.

The Chauth and Sardeshmukhi :—Shivaji made a clear distinction between *Swarajya*, that is, territory directly governed by him, and *Moglai* or country governed by other kings outside his *Swarajya*. The civil institutions mentioned above were intended for the *Swarajya*. In the foreign territory he demanded *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi*, a special kind of levy known in Mahratta country only. *Sardeshmukhi* was a hereditary *Vatan* or grant enjoyed by the Maratha Deshmukhs under the Adil Shahi and the Nizam Shahi kings. They were responsible for the tranquillity and peace of the country, and the collection of the revenue entrusted to their charge. They used to receive about 10 per cent of their revenues, 5 per cent in cash or grain, and 5 per cent in grants of arable land. Shivaji asked for this *Vatan* from Shah Jehan in 1650 in Junnar and Ahmadnagar. He repeated the same demand before Aurangzeb in 1657, when he was Viceroy of the Deccan, and later on when he became the Emperor. In the treaty of Purandhar in 1666 besides the *Sardeshmukhi* he asked for an additional grant of 25 per cent of the revenue of some districts,

known as *Chauth*. The Emperor did not commit himself to these grants, but in 1667 a *jaghir* was granted in Berar in lieu of these grants. In 1663 the Government of Bijapur agreed to pay three lakhs of rupees in yearly tribute instead of a fixed portion of the revenue and so also the king of Golconda agreed to pay five lakhs annually Shivaji levied *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* in Khandesh, a Moghul province in 1671 and the Portugese were forced to pay tribute in 1674. The districts in the Carnatic were also made to pay the levies in 1676. In all cases Shivaji undertook to protect the kingdom and the people from foreign aggression. The system was practically a system of tributary alliance anticipating the well-known system of the Marquis of Wellesley.

An Estimate of Shivaji's Greatness :— Shivaji is looked upon by his countrymen as an incarnation of the deity, whereas the Mahomedan historian, Khañ Khan, depicts him as a "free-booter." A close study of his life impresses upon every one the idea that he was really a "superman" without superciliousness and arrogance which that term signifies. He was the liberator of the Mahratta race. He grandly conceived the idea of establishing a Hindu kingdom and nobly did he carry out his plan. He was free from the vices generally found in men of his position. Not to molest women and saints and not to plunder temples were the strict injunctions issued to his soldiers.

Even at the present day in Europe some nations are accused of these barbarities. He never stooped to any means which can be said mean and inhuman. Whatever cruelty is ascribed to him, he was forced to perpetrate in pure self-defence, and in order to secure the safety of his nation. The capture of Purandhar, the murders of Atzul Khan and Chandra Rao More of Jaoli are held by some historians as without any justification. But the capture was made with the consent of the garrison. The murders were committed in bare self-defence. The raids and plunders in the surrounding country were undertaken to replenish his treasury, which was exhausted in his war for the independence of Maharashtra.

The greatest achievement of Shivaji was the bringing together of the scattered forces of Maharashtra. The Mahrattas had no confidence in themselves and were actuated by jealousy towards one another. To get some preferment under one of the Mahomedan governments was their highest ambition. They were even ready to betray their own countrymen. In such circumstances to carve out a principality for himself, and to make the standard of unity and liberty respected was not an insignificant achievement. The spirit of the American chamiopns of independence or the burning nationalism of the French did not animate the Mahrattas. With a number of half-clothed Mavalis the son of a Mahratta

chieftain^{*} roused the drooping spirit of his people by his successive triumphs. The weakness of the states of Bijapur and Golconda and the lack of insight of the Moghul Emperor no doubt contributed considerably to his success. But the very fact that no other race did avail itself of the opportunity proves conclusively the extraordinary services of the Mahratta leader.

He was lucky in having a number of able and faithful followers. No one ever dared betray him. His general, Netoji Palkar, left his service for a time, and Partap Rao Guzar was led away by the spirit of insubordination, but they all repented afterwards. Shivaji never broke his alliances or failed to fulfil his agreements. Even Khafi Khan admits that he strove to maintain the honour of the people in his territories: he persevered in rebellion, in plundering caravans, and in troubling mankind, but entirely abstained from other disgraceful acts and was particularly careful as to the honour of the women who fell into his hands, and would not allow any dishonour to be done to mosques or to the Koran. "It is necessary to remember" writes the author of the History of the Konkan, "the cruelties and hardships which the Portugese in the name of religion and civilization had inflicted on the inhabitants of the Konkan, and the atrocities of the Musalmans during their wars with Shivaji, and in particular the death which Aurangzeb himself inflicted on Shivaji's son

and successor. In view of these things we certainly cannot say that Shivaji barbarian as he was in many respects and without pretence to culture of any sort, was the inferior of those of his contemporaries either Christian or Musalman with whom he was brought in contact on this coast. And altogether it is possible to believe that notwithstanding "the clamour of continual war" the greater part of the Konkan in the time enjoyed more prosperity than at most periods of its history."

His administrative system and revenue arrangements were a marvel for the age, writes Prof. Sarkar, and greatly contributed to the prosperity and happiness of his subjects. As a patriot, as a general and as a statesman Shivaji stands very high among his contemporaries, and in the history of India, and in the history of the world, there are really not many, who can be placed in the same position with him. "But great organizer and military genius that Shivaji was writes Mr. Kincaid, "it is in farseeing statesmanship that he stands supreme. In all history there is no such example of modesty in the face of continued success. The insolent, overweening vanity which has proved the ruin of so many commanders, both in ancient and modern times, found no place in Shivaji's admirably balanced mind. He won victory after victory against Bijapur and the Moghuls, yet his head was never turned. He realized always that he had yet to meet the full

power of the Moghul empire. His one aim was to secure the freedom of his countrymen. That he might do so, he sought to win the friendship of Aurangzeb when that proved impossible, he resolved to secure a place of shelter against the coming peril, which he clearly foresaw. At last there came a time when his genius bore fruit."

He was not only a great general and statesman, he was endowed with deep spiritual fervour. He sat at the feet of Tukaram and Ramdas, and in the midst of his engrossing duties he used to snatch himself away for devotional exercises. In every fort he constructed there was a temple for worship. In his trials and tribulations he used to consult Bhawani, and whatever he did he did after receiving the blessings of the deity. This aspect of his life appealed to the religious sentiment of his people. He was extremely frugal and economic. His character was greatly moulded by his earnest faith and intense piety.

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